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REPORT AND PAPERS

OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

HELD IN WASHINGTON, DEC. 29 AND 30, 1891

PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN

SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

VOLUME IV.

REPORT AND PAPERS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, DEC. 29 AND 30, 1891

EDITED BY

REV. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A.
SECRETARY

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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[Adopted at the organization, Friday, March 23, 1888.]

I.

This Society shall be called

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers and four other members shall constitute the Council, of which five shall be the quorum.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall preside at all the meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, and the determination of what papers shall be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The Council and all the other officers shall be elected at the annual meeting. But the Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

VI.

Any person approved by the Council may become a member of the Society upon the payment of an initiation fee of $5.00, and continue a member by paying after the first year an annual fee of $3.00. On payment of fifty dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VII.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all honorary and life-members, to all annual members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing $3.00 annually.

VIII.

Persons not residing in America may be elected honorary members.

IX.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Society met in the reception rooms of the Columbian University, in Washington, D.C., on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 29 and 30, 1891.

The first session was held on Tuesday at 8 P.M., and was opened with prayer by the President, the Rev. Dr. Schaff. He then congratulated the Society on its past year of progress and hope. Not only has it contributed to historical studies by the publication of its papers, but it has secured the co-operation of a number of competent scholars in preparing a history of American Christianity in a series of denominational histories. From this series much good may be expected.

The Secretary then read his report, which was as follows:

Since our last meeting we have received thirty-two new members, and have lost three by resignation and two by death. It is fitting that some biographical account should be given of the latter.

One of these was one of our honorary members elected at our first meeting, EDMOND DEHAULT DE PRESSENSÉ. He was born in Paris, January 24, 1824, and died there on Wednesday, April 8, 1891, having but just completed his sixty-seventh year. His education in the arts was made in the University of Paris, and in theology at Lausanne under Vinet, in Halle under Tholuck, and in Berlin under Neander. Fresh from the teachings of the last-named, he came to Paris in 1847 to be pastor of the Free Evangelical Congregation of the Taitbout, and so continued until 1870. From 1871 till 1876 he was Deputy to the National Assembly from the

Department of the Seine. In 1883 he was elected a life senator. He founded the *Revue Chrétienne*, and was its first editor. He organized the Synodical Commission of the Free Church of France, and was its president. He thus played a prominent part in Protestant Church life in France. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from the universities of Breslau (1869), Montauban (1876), and Edinburgh (1884). His great and international fame was derived from his writings. Of these the best known among us are his *History of the First Three Christian Centuries*, and his *Life of Jesus Christ*. The list is as follows:

(The place of publication is Paris and the size is octavo where not otherwise stated.)

Le synode reformé de 1848, par deux témoins; histoire critique (with Léon Pilatte). 1848 (pamphlet).

Humiliez-vous! Sermon. 1848.

Conférences sur le christianisme dans son application aux questions sociales. 1849.

Le témoignage de la primitive Église à la vérité. La vie—la parole—le martyr. Trois discours. 1850.

Du Catholicisme en France. Prospérité matérielle. Décadence morale. 1851.

La ruine sociale; réponse à M. Proudhon: Ni matérialisme, ni jésuitisme. 12mo. 1852 (pamphlet).

Le rédempteur; discours. 1854. [Ger. trans., Der Erlöser, Gotha, 1883. Eng. trans., by J. H. Myers, The Redeemer, Edin., 1864, Boston, 1867.]

L'immaculée conception. Histoire d'un dogme catholique romain, et comme l'hérésie devient un dogme. 1855 (pamphlet).

La famille chrétienne; sermons. 1856. 3d ed., 1891. [Ger. trans., Die christliche Familie, Leipzig, 1864.]

La chambre haute et le Temple. Actes, ii., 1–4. Discours d'inauguration de la chapelle du Luxembourg. 1857 (pamphlet).

Essai sur la divinité de Jésus Christ. 1857 (pamphlet).

Lutte entre Hippolyte et Calliste sur l'absolution cléricale, ou l'Église de Rome au IIIe siècle, d'après un manuscrit d'Hippolyte, récemment découvert. 1856 (pamphlet).

La jeunesse chrétienne; sermon. 1857.

L'individualisme chrétien ; discours pour l'ouverture du synode du Vigna. 1885.

Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Église chrétienne. 1858–77, 6 v. 2d ed., vol. i., 1887. Premiére serie : l'ancien monde et le christianisme. Vol. ii., 1888. Le siècle apostolique, première période. Vol. iii., 1889. Le siècle apostolique, seconde periode. L'âge de transition. [These three volumes are the expansion of the original first two. Vols. iii. and iv. of the original edition are entitled : Le grande lutte du christianisme contre paganisme. Les martyrs et les apologistes. Vol. v., L'histoire du dogme. Vol. vi., La vie ecclésiastique, religieuse et morale des chrétiens aux deuxième et troisième siècles. Ger. Trans., Geschichte der drei ersten Jahrh. der christlichen Kirche (by E. Fabarius), Leipzig, 1862–6–77. Six parts. Eng. trans., separate vols. under different titles. Vol. i., The Religions before Christ (by L. Cokran), Edin., 1862. Vol. i., revised ed., The Ancient World and Christianity (by Mrs. Annie Harwood Holmden), London and New York, 1888. The history proper is translated by Miss Annie Harwood under the title, The Early Years of Christianity. Vol. i., The Apostolic Era. 1869 Vol. ii., The Martyrs and Apologists. 1871. Vol. iii., Heresy and Christian Doctrine. 1874. Vol. iv., Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church. 1877.]

Discours religieux. 1re série : l'Église et ses moyens de grâce. 2e série : l'Apôtre saint Paul, ou un chrétien des temps primitifs. 1859.

Le pouvoir temporel est-il nécessaire à la religion ? réponse aux derniers mandements des évêques. 12mo. 1859 (pamphlet).

L'individualisme normal, ses défenseurs, ses adversaries et ses progrès depuis vingt ans. 1859 (pamphlet).

La liberté religieuse. 12mo. 1862.

La compassion de l'Église pour les multitudes qui ont faim ; sermon. 1863.

L'école critique et Jésus Christ, à propos de la vie de Jésus de M. Renan. 1863 (pamphlet).

Le pays de l'Évangile ; notes d'un voyage en Orient. 12mo. 1864. [Eng. Trans., The Land of the Gospel, Notes of a Journey in the East. London, 1865.]

L'Église et la révolution française ; histoire des relations de l'Église et de l'État de 1789 à 1802. 1864. 2d ed., 1867. 3d ed., 1890. [Eng. trans., by J. P. Lacroix, Religion and the Reign of Terror ; or, The Church during the French Revolution. N. Y., 1868.]

La liberté religieuse et la législation actuelle. 12mo. 1866.

Jésus-Christ, son temps, sa vie, son œuvre. 1866. 7th ed., revue et augmentée, 1884. [Eng. trans., by Miss Annie Harwood, Jesus Christ, his Times, Life, and Work. London, 1866. Abridged ed., Vie de Jésus Christ, 12mo, 1866 ; Eng. trans., Cincinnati, 1866.]

Études evangéliques. 12mo. 1867–68. 2 v. [Ger. trans., by E. Fabarius, Evangelischen Studien : 1. Das Leiden im Lichte des Evangeliums. 2. Betrachtungen und Reden verschiedenen Inhalts. Halle, 1869. 2d ed., 1884. 2 v. Eng. trans., by Annie Harwood, The Mystery of Suffering and other Discourses. London and N. Y., 1866.]

De la liberté religieuse en France, à l'occasion du projet de loi sur le droit de réunion. 1867 (pamphlet).

Essai sur le dogme de la rédemption. 1867.

Saint Paul jugé par M. Renan. 1869.

Les réunions publiques de Paris et les élections prochaines. 18mo. 1869 (pamphlet).

Le vraie liberté ; quatre discours. 12mo. 1869.

Les leçons du 18 mars, les faits et les idées. 12mo. 1871.

Le concile du Vatican, son histoire et ses conséquences politiques et religieuses. 12mo. 1872. 2d ed., 1879. [Ger. trans., by E. Fabarius, Das vaticanische Concil. Seine Geschichte und seine politischen und religiösen Folgen. Nördlingen, 1872.

Discours prononcés à l'Assemblée nationale, le 8 et le 9 janvier, 1873, dans la discussion générale de la loi sur le Conseil superieur de l'instruction publique. 18mo. 1873.

Trois discours sur l'unité de l'Église. 1873.

La liberté religieuse en Europe depuis 1870. 12mo. 1874.

Le devoir. 32mo. 1875 (pamphlet).

La question ecclésiastique en 1877, avec une préface et des notes explicatives. Premier discours : l'individualisme chrétien et la Réforme. Deuxième discours : l'individualisme chrétien et la crise du protestantisme française. 12mo. 1877.

L'apostolat missionnaire. 1879.

Études contemporaines. 1880. [Eng. trans., by Mrs. Annie Harwood Holmden, Contemporary Portraits. London and N. Y., 1880.]

Les origines. Le problème de la connaissance ; le problème cosmologique ; le problème anthropologique ; l'origine de la morale et de la religion. 1883. [Ger. trans., by E. Fabarius, Die Ursprünge. Zur Geschichte und Lösung des Problems der Erkenntnis und Kosmologie, Anthropologie und der Ursprungs der Moral und der Religion. Halle, 1884. 2d ed., 1887. Eng. trans., A Study of Origins ; or, The Problems of Knowledge, of Being, and of Duty. London and N. Y., 1883. 5th ed., 1887.]

Variétés morales et politiques. 12mo. 1885.

Alexandre Vinet d'après sa correspondance inédite avec Henri Lutteroth. 12mo. 1890.

In English translation : Rome and Italy at the Opening of the Vatican Council. N. Y., 1870.

The other member to die was our fellow-countryman CHARLES WESLEY BENNETT, whose *Christian Art and Archæology of the First Six Centuries*, published by the Methodist Book Concern, in New York, in 1888, has been well received. It embodied the results of long and enthusiastically prosecuted research. He was born at Bethany, New York, July 18, 1828, and died at Evanston, Illinois, Friday, April 17, 1891, not quite sixty-three years old. He was graduated from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, in 1852. After teaching for several years he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1862. In 1864 he became principal of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y. From 1866 to 1869 he travelled in Europe and the East, and studied church history and archæology in Berlin under the late Professor Piper, who esteemed him one of his best pupils. On his return he preached for two years, and then, in 1871, became professor of history and logic in Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, and in 1885 professor of historical theology in the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois. His health broke down in the closing months of 1890, and he was in

consequence unable to complete a paper which he had projected for our last annual meeting. He sought recuperation in Florida, and returned home much improved, as he supposed. He accepted (March 7, 1891) the position of historian of Methodism in our projected series of denominational histories, but died soon after his letter of acceptance was written. He received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from Genesee College, Lima, New York, in 1870; and that of Doctor of Laws from Syracuse University in 1887. Besides the volume named above he published *A Digest of the Laws and Resolutions of Congress Relative to Pensions, Bounty Lands, Pay of the Army, etc., with Complete Forms of Application*, Washington, 1854; *History of the Philosophy of Pedagogics*, New York, 1877; *National Education in Italy, France, Germany, England, and Wales, Popularly Considered*, Syracuse, 1878; and numerous articles and reviews.

One of our honorary members, the Rev. Dr. Mandell Creighton, the distinguished historian of the Papacy in the time of the Reformation, has during the year left the ranks of university teachers, having exchanged the position of professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge for that of Bishop of Peterborough.

The chief event of the year in its bearings upon us as a Society was the inauguration of the denominational series. As recorded in the minutes of last year (p. xii.), Professor Schaff, Bishop Potter, Bishop Hurst, Professors Fisher, Wolf, and Newman, and the Secretary were chosen the editorial committee. Three meetings were held—all in New York—the first on January 30th, the second February 27th, and the last for the year, May 16th. At the first meeting the following paper, which lays down the lines on which the series is to be carried out and names the publisher, was adopted:

"AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY,

"Consisting of a series of denominational histories published under the auspices of the American Society of Church History.

"The American Society of Church History at its third annual meeting held in the city of Washington, D. C., Dec. 31, 1890, resolved to undertake the preparation of a series of denominational histories which would constitute together an American Church History. It appointed an editorial committee to secure a publisher, to select writers, and to superintend the publication. The committee consists of Rev. Dr. Schaff, Bishop Potter, Prof. G. P. Fisher, Bishop Hurst, Prof. E. J. Wolf, the Rev. H. C. Vedder, and the Rev. S. M. Jackson.

"The editorial committee have secured as publisher the Christian Literature Company of New York, which will undertake the financial responsibility, and allow the authors the usual royalty. The committee have matured the following scheme:

"1. The whole work is to embrace ten or more octavo volumes of about 500 pages each, averaging 340 words on a page; one volume being devoted to each of the largest and oldest communions of America—the Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed (Dutch and German), and Roman Catholic bodies; two or more volumes to the smaller communions, and possibly one to contain a compendious history of American Christianity as a whole, setting forth its relations to Europe, its distinctive features, especially the separation of Church and State, and its common institutions and operations.

"2. The history of each communion is to be prepared by a competent scholar of that communion, who will be selected by the editorial committee. Each author is responsible for his own work and shall be entitled to the whole benefit of the copyright.

"3. The different authors are expected to execute their task in the spirit of conscientious Christian scholarship, with loyalty to their respective communions and fraternal regard to all other portions of Christ's Kingdom. Each author is expected to base his work on a critical study of the sources, to indicate his authorities, to give a classified list of literature to trace his communion to its roots in Europe, to exhibit its growth, its work at home and abroad, and to present a clear

view of its present condition and relation to other Christian Churches. The style should be scholarly, yet popular and interesting, so as to attract intelligent readers of all classes and creeds.

"4. Each author is allowed from two to five years to complete his task.

"5. The editorial committee reserve the right to examine the manuscript, and if necessary to return it to the author for enlargement or abridgment."

The following gentlemen, whose addresses will be found upon our list, have accepted the position of historian of their respective communions: Baptist, Prof. Newman; Congregational, Prof. Walker; Lutheran, Prof. Jacobs; Methodist, the Rev. Dr. Buckley; Protestant Episcopal, the Rev. Dr. C. C. Tiffany; Presbyterian, Prof. R. E. Thompson, of the University of Pennsylvania; Reformed Church (Dutch), the Rev. Dr. Corwin; Reformed Church (German), Prof. Dubbs; Roman Catholic, Prof. O'Gorman; Unitarian, the Rev. Dr. Allen; Universalist, the Rev. Dr. Eddy; Disciple, the Rev. B. B. Tyler; Moravian, Prof. Hamilton; Friends, Prof. A. C. and Dr. R. H. Thomas.

The other smaller denominations will be provided for. It is planned to unite several of these in one volume. Perhaps a sort of dictionary of the minor denominations of the country will be issued.

Professor Newman having become one of the historians resigned his position on the editorial committee and Mr. Vedder was chosen in his place.

In his capacity of treasurer the Secretary reported thus:

1890.			
Dec. 30.	Balance on hand,		$159.21
1891.			
Dec. 29.	Received for dues and sale of Transactions		524.48
1891.			683.69
Jan. 20.	Paid G. P. Putnam's Sons for printing	$ 39.60	
July 8.	" " "	425.00	
Oct. 10.	" " "	125.00	
Dec. 11.	" " "	87.93	677.53
	Balance on hand		6.16

After the Secretary had finished his report, the reading of papers according to the program was begun. Professor Gillett's on "The Religious Motives of Columbus" was briefly discussed by the Rev. Dr. Childs of Washington, after whose remarks Professor Walker read his paper on "The Heads of Agreement, and the Union of Congregationalists and Presbyterians Based on them in London in 1691." He was followed by Mr. Thomas Davidson upon "Christian Unity and the Kingdom of Heaven."

The second session was held the following morning, Wednesday, December 30th, at 10 o'clock. At its opening the Rev. Dr. Hamlin extended to the members of the Society a cordial invitation from himself and wife to attend a reception to be given at his church that evening at 8 o'clock. The invitation was accepted.

The Rev. Professor Gordon then read his paper on "The Papal Bulls Distributing America," and it was discussed by the Hon. L. Q. M. Curry.

In the absence of the Rev. Professor Newman extracts of his paper on "Recent Researches Concerning Mediæval Sects" were read by the Secretary.

The last paper of the session was by the Rev. Mr. Nicum on "The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church in America." In the discussion which followed the Rev. Dr Elliott, the Rev. Professor Richard, and the Rev. Mr. McIlvain took part.

The third and concluding session was held at three o'clock. The committee on nomination and place of next meeting made their report, recommending the re-election of the officers and council who had served during the year. The list is accordingly as follows:

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

President: Rev. Prof. Dr. Philip Schaff.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Prof. Dr. Henry Martyn Baird; Rev. Bishop Dr. John Fletcher Hurst; Rev. Prof. Dr. George Park Fisher; Rev. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs.

Secretary and Treasurer: Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, 14 East 31st Street, New York City.

Councillors: Rev. Dr. Talbot Wilson Chambers; Rev. Prof. Dr. George Richard Crooks; Rev. Henry Clay Vedder; Rev. Chancellor Dr. Henry Mitchell MacCracken.

Bishop Hurst reported that he had examined the treasurer's accounts and found them correct.

The following persons were then elected to membership [those who accepted are starred], viz.:

*Joseph Albree (layman), Allegheny; J. H. Barrows, Chicago; E. C. Bissel, Hartford; H. S. Bliss, Brooklyn; A. J. Bonsall, Rochester, Pa.; *H. M. Booth, New York; R. R. Booth, New York; *W. Bowler (layman), Cleveland, O.; E. R. Burkhalter, Cedar Rapids, Ia.; *D. J. Burrell, New York; *H. K. Carroll (layman), New York; *G. W. Childs (layman), Philadelphia, Pa.; *J. G. Craighead, Washington, D. C.; B. S. Dean, Hiram, O.; D. S. Dodge, New York; *W. E. Dodge (layman), New York; *L. R. Foote, Brooklyn, N. Y.; E. W. Gilman, New York; W. E. Griffis, Boston, Mass.; *H. Harrison, Ellicott City, Md.; F. E. Häusser, Bloomfield, N. J.; H. V. Hilprecht (layman), Philadelphia, Pa.; *J. M. Hoppin, New Haven, Conn.; R. C. Houghton, Portland, Oregon; *J. T. Kelly, Washington, D. C.; C. E. Knox, Bloomfield, N. J.; J. J. Lampe, New York; P. F. Leavens, Passaic, N. J.; *J. J. McCook (layman), New York; H. McDiarmid, Bethany, W. Va.; W. R. Mackay, Pittsburgh, Pa.; J. W. McGarvey, Lexington, Ky.; *G. W. McLanahan (layman), Washington, D. C.; R. T. Matthews, Lexington, Ky.; W. S. Miller, Washington, D. C.; *G. Norcross, Carlisle, Pa.; *T. O'Gorman, Washington, D. C.; Professor Painter, Salem, Va.; W. Phraner, Bloomfield, N. J.; *J. H. Prugh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; *N. B. Remick, Geneva, N. Y.; E. W. Rice, Philadelphia, Pa.; C. S. Robinson, New York; *W. O. Ruston, Dubuque, Ia.; H. W. Seibert, Bloomfield, N. J.; J. B. Shaw, New York; *T. J. Shahan, Washington, D. C.; J. M. Sterrett, Faribault, Minn.; C. A. Stoddard, New York; A. J. Tittsworth, Milwaukee, Wis.; K. Twining, New York; W. H. Ward, New York; R. F.

Weidner, Rock Island, Ill.; E. N. White, New York; B. F. Woodburn, Allegheny, Pa.

The Rev. Professor Schaff then read his paper on "Calvin and Melanchthon," which was discussed by Rev. Professor Richard, and the session was closed, as far as the papers were concerned, by Mr. Ferree's paper on "Christian Thought in Architecture," and the ensuing discussion in which Bishop Hurst, Mr. McIlvain, and the Rev. Professors Schaff, Wolf, Richard, and Hulbert participated.

The Honorable Frederick Douglass being present was unanimously elected an active member.

On motion, the president and officers of Columbian University were thanked for their courtesy towards the Society.

The Rev. Professor Hulbert called attention to the advisability of increasing interest in our public meetings by the Secretary securing the discussion by competent persons on the papers offered. The Secretary was also instructed to print in the proceedings a bibliography of the historical literature of the year.

Bishop Hurst suggested that members bring with them literary rarities for exhibition at our meetings.

Mr. Power suggested that the Society make an exhibit at the coming Columbian World's Fair at Chicago, Ill.

The Secretary was authorized to offer the back volumes of the Society's proceedings to members at one dollar each.

The session was closed with prayer by Bishop Hurst.

The following members enrolled themselves during the sessions:

J. G. Craighead, Thomas Davidson, Geo. Elliott, Wm. H. Gillett, C. D. Hartranft, Henry Woodward Hulbert, John F. Hurst, Samuel Macauley Jackson, J. William McIlvain, John Nicum, Fred'k D. Power, Philip Schaff, Charles Averette Stakely, Williston Walker, E. J. Wolf.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,
Secretary.

WORKS OF INTEREST TO THE STUDENT OF CHURCH HISTORY WHICH APPEARED IN 1891.

The titles are taken from the comprehensive and noteworthy monthly bibliographies compiled by the Rev. G. W. Gilmore, for the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, but the Secretary has revised them, added bibliographical information, especially in regard to first editions and dates of first volumes of series, and furnished them with a subject index.

A

Abaelardi, peripatetici Palatini Petri, hymnarius paraclitensis sive hymnorum libelli iii. ad fidem codicum Bruxellensis et Calmontani edidit Guido Maria Dreves. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. 292, 8vo, 5 fr.

Abälard's 1121 zu Soissons verurtheilter Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina. Aufgefunden und erstmals herausgegeben von R. Stölzle. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder. Pp. xxxvi., 101, 8vo, 2.80 mk.

Abelard, *see* W. Meyer.

Abyssinian Missionaries, *see* Constantin.

Acta martyrum et sanctorum. Syriace edidit Bedjan. Tomus II. Martyres Chaldæi et Persæ. Paris. Pp. xiii., 688, 8vo, 30 fr. (Vol. I., 1890, 25 fr.)

Acta sanctæ sedis, in compendium opportune redacta et illustrata studio et cura Dr. Victor Piazzesi. Vol. xxiii., 12 fasc. Romæ, (Regensburg: Pustet, 8vo, 12 mk.)

Acta sanctorum hiberniæ ex codice salmanticensi, nunc primum integre edita opera Carol. Smedt et Josephi de Backer e Soc. Jesu, hagiographorum Bollandianorum, aucto et sumptus largiente Joanne Patricio Marchione Boltæ. Lille: Desclée. Pp. iv., 979, 4to, 2 cols.

Acts of the English martyrs, *see* J. H. Pollen.

Adams, H. C., Rev. History of the Jews, from the War with Rome to the Present Time. New York and Chicago: Revell. Pp. 406, 12mo, cloth, $3.20.

Admont, Cloister of, *see* J. Wichner.

Africa, *see* Casati; J. F. Moir; S. T. Pruen; J. Tyler.

Agen, bp. of, *see* Hebrard.

Albert II., *see* H. Gredy.

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THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

THE RELIGIOUS MOTIVES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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The question has been often asked whether there were any religious motives dominant in the mind of Columbus and his royal patrons when the expedition toward the unknown West was undertaken. Those who would fain canonize the discoverer of a new world appear unable to see any other guiding motive, and they also earnestly desire to impress their belief upon all the world. Others, differently inclined, seem to have difficulty in finding anything other than a base and ignoble love of gold and an overweening desire for power and fame in the proposals or the subsequent career of the adventurer. The question is then, first as to the very existence of such motives at all, and secondarily, if they are found to exist, as to the position which they occupied in the minds of the parties concerned, and the extent to which later occurrences stamped them as genuine or spurious; formative in their influence, or merely put forward as a pretext and make-weight in argument.

Antecedently we ought to bear in mind the state of Europe at the time, and inquire whether it presents any facts which would have given weight to arguments based upon a desire to extend the limits of the Church, and therewith the benefits of the salvation which it proclaimed.

The Crusades had ceased two hundred years before, and the Holy Sepulchre still remained in the hands of the hated Moslem. Nearly the whole of Europe was nominally Christian, and efforts for the extension of the Church had practically ceased. The state of morals at Rome was such as to disincline those in authority from engaging in active propagandism. Even the encroachments upon it in the East failed to arouse it to the danger which menaced in that quarter. Since the last Crusade the Church had been sinking continually toward a lower level, while self-gratification and a desire for self-aggrandizement had taken the place of zeal for the Cross and fervor for the glory and extension of the Church. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that, apart from other reasons, the zeal for the Church burned more ardently in the Peninsula than in Rome itself. But when we take into consideration another factor in our calculation, we shall be ready to believe that the religious motives which we are to consider may have had a far greater efficacy than we might otherwise be willing to ascribe to them. It is to be remembered that it was just at this juncture that the hated Saracen had met with his final overthrow, and been driven defeated out of Spain. Whatever of religious fervor the Crusades had as their accompaniment, a similar ardor may be ascribed to the victorious warriors who had freed their land from those allied in race with the hereditary enemies of their Church. These two objects of love and devotion, Church and native land, must have been present in the every thought of the Spanish patriot. It is hard to think of the two apart. But with the defeat and expulsion of the enemy of the land, the love of the Church did not die. Anything which promised its extension and glory may well be imagined to have exerted a powerful effect upon the Spanish mind.

These considerations are here introduced, not because it is claimed that any direct influence between them and the religious motives supposed to have been presented by Columbus can be traced, but merely to show that the ground was ready for such seed, and that it was calculated

to bring forth a plenteous harvest if properly treated and watched. The crusading spirit was not dead in Spain, but was still alive in the minds of the actors in the scenes to be considered, though in varying degrees, while it waited for something to give it direction and to guide it to objects worthy of its zeal.

It is beside our purpose to discuss the relations existing between Spain and Portugal. The latter was exploring the African coast, and, it is believed, planting missions there. Spain must look to the West, and if she went thither to explore, she must carry the Cross as well. The very rivalry of the nations must have had its effect in inciting to action along the religious as well as the commercial line. Considerations of this sort, based upon a rivalry between nations, can scarcely be dignified by the name of "religious motives" in any true sense. The only question which would then need to be considered would be whether any of the actors in the scene would have been affected by a truly religious motive which grew out of a desire for the extension of the Church, presented merely as an enforced appendage to the scheme for commercial advantage. With our usual conception of the character of Ferdinand we should answer this question, so far as it concerns him alone, in the negative. Of Columbus we should be in some doubt, though as a loyal son of the Church he would have been susceptible to the suggestion. Of Isabella we should say that she alone would be open to the presentation of such motives. In her mind the seed would take quick and deep root.

Before proceeding to the matter in hand, it will be necessary to say a few words in regard to the sources of our information. The whole subject has been discussed by Justin Winsor in vol. ii. of his *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884–89, 5 vols.), and in his more recent work, entitled *Christopher Columbus* (1891). In view of the limited time at disposal, and of the novelty of the undertaking, it has not been considered necessary to make an absolutely exhaustive study of all the sources, even if it had been possible to have

examined them all. The facts in the case can be proved by a few witnesses as well as by a complete array. But a brief statement may be excused, even if no claim is made to a systematic exploitation of them all.

The works upon which the following account is based are these: For original documents—Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde Fines del Siglo XV.* (Madrid, 1825, *sqq.*, 5 vols.). This contains private and other papers of Columbus, which are now in the hands of his present representative, the Duke of Veragua. To these the first two volumes are exclusively devoted. The letters in the *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877) are of minor importance. For early histories—The abridgment of Columbus' *Journal*, by Las Casas, mainly as the same is given in Navarrete's *Coleccion*, and as it exists in black-letter in the Astor Library in New York, and in manuscript in the library of Columbia College. The later editions of his works have not been found available in New York. The history of Herrera (*Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra-Firma del Mar Océano*, Madrid, 1726–30, 4 vols., folio) has been employed to obtain a connected account of the events as they occurred. Las Casas evidently had the original journals before him as he wrote, and Winsor seems to have supposed that the same was true of Herrera, though at a later point in his volume on Columbus he substitutes Las Casas' abridgment, adding that where the original contained a qualified statement Herrera is only too apt to supplant it by a positive assertion. Herrera also exhibits the spirit of a partisan throughout. Besides these, the history of Oviedo (*Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851–55, 4 vols., 4to.) has also been examined. The names of the following later writers, whose works have been consulted, may be mentioned: Irving, Prescott, Helps, R. H. Major, H. H. Bancroft, de Lorgues, Goodrich, and especially the works of Winsor and Harrisse; also Mariana (*Historia general de España*), Lemke and Schaefer (*Geschichte von Spanien*), and H. C. Lea's *Inquisition*, besides other books of lesser note.

In the determination of the question whether a desire for the conversion of the heathen was, strictly speaking, a formative motive and a primary incentive in the undertaking, as has been claimed by some, it obviously would be necessary to limit the time to be examined to the period previous to the first departure for the unknown West. If the question is to be answered in the affirmative, and if the proof is to be considered conclusive, it should be found in that primary period. But we are constrained to extend the period during which we seek for motives inciting to the expedition so as to include the whole interval up to the second start. This we should do because the time occupied by the first voyage was so short, and because it was only after some knowledge of the newly discovered country had been obtained that Columbus could make any estimate of the forces which would be required, and because it was only when preparing for his second departure that he entered upon the real working out of his alleged scheme of evangelization. Later events certainly throw light back upon those days, but any fresh professions dating from the time after June, 1493, cannot claim a primary importance. At most they would only show that any previous convictions and purposes remained unchanged, or were modified by circumstances.

But with the best intentions, and while willing to give Columbus all the credit possible by this extension of the limits within which we might feel justified in seeking for religious motives, we are compelled to reduce the limit just indicated. Columbus, on his return from the West, landed in Palos on the 14th of March, 1493. Within two months, on the 3d of May, 1493, Pope Alexander VI. issued the Bull of Demarcation, acting on his own motion, according to Hakluyt, though others believe that it was at the instance and request of Ferdinand. On the following day, May 4, 1493,[1] he issued another Bull. According to the tenor of these documents Spain was to possess the lands to the west of the Line of Demarcation "on condition of planting the

[1] See Appendix, i.

Catholic Faith" in them. Obviously, then, when the highest authority of the time had laid down such a condition it is beside the mark to seek formative motives in a matter which was, formally at least, compulsory. The 3d of May, 1493, therefore marks our limit.

Unfortunately the materials at our disposal which date from within these limits are exceedingly few and inadequate. For instance, it would be of the highest possible interest to have the text of the proposals which Columbus made to the King of Portugal. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the probable extension of the Church was among the considerations submitted to this Sovereign. It is certain that this thought was not entirely novel or foreign, for it had been expressly set forth in the letter which Toscanelli sent, at the request of Alfonso V., predecessor of John II., with whom Columbus treated, in reply to an inquiry as to a route to the "land of spices" in a westerly direction. Our copy of this letter is preserved in the communication addressed by Toscanelli to Columbus in reply to inquiries similar to those of the King. In it the assertion is made that the predecessors of the present Great Khan had desired that religious teachers be sent to them to give them instruction in the religion of the Catholic Church. It is also asserted that early in the same century an ambassador had come to Eugene IV., telling of the love of his people for the Pope, and for Catholics in general. But the old cosmographer was specially explicit on this point in the portion of the letter which was composed for Columbus himself. In it he says: "It will cause joy to the king and princes reigning in those far-off lands to have opened to them a means of communication with Christians in order that they may obtain instruction in the Christian religion."[1]

The testimony which we have in regard to the life of Columbus at the monastery of la Rábida is conflicting. It is impossible to lay much stress upon it or to give it great prominence. It is therefore entirely disregarded in this

[1] See Appendix, ii.

study of the matter. But if considered at all the facts would seem prejudicial rather than favorable to the credit of Columbus, unless it can be proved absolutely that he made two visits to the convent, one in 1484–85, and the other in 1491. If it is admitted that the visit of 1491 was the only visit, as Harrisse considers that he has proved, and if it can be shown that at that time Columbus received any new ideas on the subject which caused him subsequently to advance religious considerations as arguments in further pressing his case, it must be granted that such reasons were urged merely as additional makeweights and as afterthoughts, for his original propositions had been presented several years before. But as has already been indicated, the subject is too hazy for any positive statement either way.

What the arguments were which Columbus presented at the Junta of Salamanca, we do not know. But it is a fact that a large part of the opposition that he met, came from ecclesiastics. Priests and bishops were among the members of this Junta, and we are informed that his arguments were met by quotations from Scripture and the Church Fathers, which were alleged to be diametrically opposed to his claims. The suspicion lies near at hand that the possible presentation of arguments based upon a prospective extension of the bounds of the Church, may have been introduced as a consideration calculated to have special force in those exceptional circumstances. Once thus introduced, they would necessarily be continued in later propositions.

The original documents which Navarrete has preserved from the period previous to the first voyage, number only five. The first one we have already mentioned; the letter of Toscanelli to Columbus, enclosing a previous letter to Alfonso V., dated at Florence, June 25, 1474. In that letter, and in fact in the enclosure as well, the religious motive is brought prominently to the front. This, however, concerns Columbus only incidentally, coming to him merely as a suggestion from the outside. Besides, it was separated from its possible application by from thirteen to seventeen years. The second document is an account of certain sums

of money paid to Columbus by the Sovereigns of Spain in 1487, 1488, and 1492. The third and fourth documents are safe-conducts given to Columbus by the Kings of Portugal and Spain. The fifth, bearing date of April 17, 1492, records the agreements of Isabella and Ferdinand with the "Admiral of the Sea-Ocean," regarding the conduct and profits of the expedition.

Winsor mentions a letter, given at a little later date, addressed to the Great Khan, the supposed ruler of the lands which were to be discovered. Helps (*Christopher Columbus*, p. 79), without citing his authority, gives the letter in full in translation. We may be pardoned for quoting this remarkable document:

"Ferdinand and Isabella
"To King ———

"The Sovereigns have heard that he and his subjects entertain great love for them and for Spain. They are, moreover, informed that he and his subjects very much wish to hear news from Spain, and send therefore their admiral, Christopher Columbus, who will tell them that they are in good health and perfect prosperity.

"Granada, April 30, 1492."

We have failed to find any document dating from a time previous to the first departure which can be construed as a witness to any religious motives formulated by the Admiral. It is possible that such considerations were presented; to some it would seem necessary to suppose that they were mentally present, if we are to give due weight to the subsequent declarations of Columbus himself. But all that we can say is that there does not seem to be any documentary proof in the case. The loss of the papers has destroyed any possibility of positive assertions either way.

For proofs we must rely upon such fragments as have been preserved for us in Las Casas' version of the story. In the *Journal*, as thus abridged, there are some statements which may be quoted, since they throw light upon the subject in hand.

On the day after the landfall, October 12, 1492, the record is as follows[1]:

"I, in order that they might be more friendly to us, because I knew that they were a people more readily won and converted to our Catholic faith by love than by force, gave some of them red caps and glass beads which they hung about their necks. They will make good servants, and they are quite intelligent, for I perceive that they repeat very quickly all that is said to them, and I believe that they would readily become Christians, because it appeared to me that they had no form of religion. I, God willing, shall take away at the time of my departure six [of them], in order they may learn to speak [our language]."

In reference to this same period, he writes to Rafael Sanchez, while on the return voyage, under date of February 18, 1493. A part of this letter is as follows[2]:

"Likewise they bought like idiots. . . . This I prohibited, since it was unjust, and I gave them many beautiful articles without exacting an equivalent, in order to induce them with more ease to receive the faith of Jesus Christ, and to be more disposed and inclined to love and reverence the Sovereigns. . . . As soon as I put into harbor in that sea, I took by force from the first island some Indians who should learn from us, and, similarly, should teach us as much as they knew of that country. This was of great advantage, for in a short time we understood them and they us, as well by gestures as by signs and words."

From the 12th of October till the 1st of November, 1492, we find no suggestion of a desire for the conversion of the natives, but a record of the beginning of trading with them and a statement that the Admiral was[3] "attentive to learn whether there was gold." On October 14th he gives a description of the island, with this suggestive addendum[4]: "This people is simple in arms [*i. e.*, ignorant of warfare]. . . . Fifty men can hold the whole island in subjection,

[1] See Appendix, iii.
[2] See Appendix, iv.
[3] See Appendix, v.
[4] See Appendix, vi.

and can make them do whatever is desired." On the 16th he records the cheering intelligence that[1] "near it [the Island of Fernandina] there is a gold mine." But with the 1st of November we find an entry which again brings us back toward the object of our search. It is as follows[2]:

"This people . . . possesses the same qualities and customs as the others already found, without any form of worship that I know of, for hitherto those whom I carry with me I have not observed praying at all, but on the contrary they repeat the *Salve* and the *Ave Maria*, with their hands stretched toward heaven, as we have instructed them. They also make the sign of the cross."

Again on November 6th there is a similar entry[3]:

"I am convinced . . . that if devout religious persons knew their language, they might be converted to Christ; and so I hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will decide upon this course with much diligence, in order to turn to the Church thus much people, and will convert them just as with like zeal you have destroyed those [in Spain] who would not confess the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. And at your death, for we are all mortal, you will leave your kingdoms in a tranquil state and free from heresy and evil, and [thus] you will be well received before the eternal Creator, whom may it please to give you long life and increase even to greater kingdoms and dominions, as also a will and desire to increase the holy Christian religion, as also you have done even to this present. Amen."

The entry of November 12th suggests a means by which the evangelization of the natives might be aided. Las Cases thus introduces the matter[4]:

"He [the Admiral] continues that it seemed to him that it would be well to take some of the people from that region [the river at the eastern end of Cuba] in order to carry them to the sovereigns that they might learn our language, that we may thus learn what is in the land, and that, returning, they may be interpreters for

[1] See Appendix, vii.
[2] See Appendix, viii.
[3] See Appendix, ix.
[4] See Appendix, x.

the Christians and may appropriate our customs and the matters of our faith, adding, 'because I saw and know that this people has no form of worship, neither is idolatrous, but on the contrary is very meek, ignorant of guile, neither killing nor thieving, without arms, and so timid that a hundred of them would flee from one of us even in jest; superstitious also, and recognizing a divinity in heaven; persuaded as well that we [on our part] are come from heaven, and very quick to repeat the prayers which we teach them, making the sign of the cross ✠. Thus your Highnesses ought to Christianize them, because I believe that if you begin you will shortly have accomplished the conversion of multitudes to our holy faith. Thus you will gain great dominions and riches. . . . Because doubtless there are in these lands immense sums of gold.'"

The last quotation from this month is very significant. November 27th[1]:

"Often I misunderstand these Indians whom I have with me, and I do not trust them much, for they have frequently tried to escape. . . . Later the benefits [resources of the islands] will be known, and we shall strive to Christianize all these peoples, because it can easily be done. . . . And I assert that your Highnesses ought not to allow any except Catholic Christians to set foot or trade here, since this was the aim and inception of the undertaking, that it should be for the increase and glory of the Christian religion; and likewise none should be allowed to come to these parts except they be good Christians."

If this suggestion had only been followed out and not superseded by his own advice given less than five years later, that certain classes of criminals, even murderers, be either sentenced to a term of expatriation in Española or be given an option of service there in lieu of imprisonment at home, the wail of regret and mortification of Las Casas might never have found expression when he laments the deplorable condition of the Church in the Spanish possessions in 1545[2]:

[1] See Appendix, xi.

[2] See Appendix, xii.

"Letter of Fra Bartholomew de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, and of Fra Antonio de Valdivieso, Bishop of Nicaragua, to Prince Philip, touching temporal and spiritual affairs affecting their bishoprics. . . . [Dated] Gracias á Dios [Honduras], Oct. 25, 1545:

". . . The Church here is so destroyed and beaten down, and obedience to the prelates is so far neglected, that we affirm in truth that it appears to us very little better than being in Germany. . . .

"Let your Highness reflect that the Kings of Castile hold these lands, ceded by the Holy Apostolic See, in order to establish in them a new Church and the Christian religion and to save souls, and that hitherto not only has it [the Church] not been established, but that which there was in these parts has already been destroyed, and besides has brought the name of Jesus Christ into disrepute, even a greater disrepute than ever it had among Turks or Moors or Arabs; [yea], from the time of the discovery of the Indies until to-day."

In view of this outrageous practice, which was made obligatory upon the judges by royal edict, the suspicion is at least justified that Columbus and the sovereigns, having succumbed to dastardly motives of sordid gain or to the uncompromising necessity of adding to the Spanish population by fair means or foul, had lost their pristine missionary zeal.

On the 16th of December, while lying off the coast of Cuba, five hundred natives came to the shore to do honor to their visitors, and to view their ships. Of them Columbus says[1]: "They are the best people in the world, also the meekest; and, above all, I have much hope in the Lord that your Highnesses will christianize them all, and that they will be yours in fact, for I regard them as yours [already]."

On the 26th of December, the following passage occurs: "I protested to your Highnesses that all the earnings of my enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, whereat you laughed, and said that it was pleasing." This would seem to indicate the day-dream of the discoverer's life, as though the use to which the material portion of his

[1] See Appendix, xiii. [2] See Appendix, xiv.

gain was to be put was the acquisition of the Holy Sepulchre, while the voyages which he hoped to make were to enable him to be instrumental in the conversion of the new world, adding to the glory of the Church both in the East and in the distant West.

Mention has already been made of a letter to Rafael Sanchez, dated February 18, 1493. An almost identical letter was written three days previous to Luis de Santangel, the Treasurer of Aragon, who had been instrumental in effecting the recall of Columbus when he had started to lay his proposals before the King of France. A portion of that letter is as follows[1]:

"In all these islands I did not see much difference in the character of the people, either as to their customs or language, for singularly they all understand one another. For this cause I hope that their Highnesses will decide to convert them to our holy faith, to the which they are quite disposed. . . . In conclusion, to speak only of what has been done in this hurried voyage, their Highnesses can see that I shall give them as much gold as they may have need of, in return for the little aid which they will give me [in future]."

Here the main source of our information ceases by limitation.

The only other documents which we shall quote are a letter of Columbus to the Sovereigns, and their "Instructions" to him. It was upon this letter of Columbus (*Cartas de Indias*, No. 1) that the "Instructions" contained in *Documentos Diplomáticos*, xlv. (Navarrete, ii.), dated May 29, 1493, are supposed to have been based. The letter of Columbus is, in its parts which are essential to us, as follows[2]:

"Letter of Christopher Columbus to the Catholic Sovereigns concerning the colonization and administration in Española, and in the other islands, discovered and to be discovered.

"Very High and Mighty Lords: In obedience to your Highnesses' commands to me, I shall give my notions about

[1] See Appendix, xv. [2] See Appendix, xvi.

the colonization and administration as well for Española as for the other islands already discovered and to be discovered. . . . Firstly, as to the island of Española, let upwards of two thousand [Spanish] subjects settle there, such as desire to go, so that the land may be safer, and the harvests and commerce better. . . . Item, that in the aforesaid island three or four towns be established and located in the most convenient districts, and that the [Spanish] subjects who may go there be divided among these districts and towns. . . . Item, that there be a church, and abbes and priests to administer the sacraments and conduct divine worship, and to convert the Indians. . . . Item, that one per cent. of all the gold taken be set apart to build churches and to furnish them, and to support their abbes and priests. . . ."

A part of the first section of the "Instructions" was as follows[1]:

"Instructions of the Sovereigns to the Admiral, Christopher Columbus, as well for the voyage he is about to make to the Indies, as for the good government of the Colony.

"Firstly, since it pleased God in his great mercy to cause the discovery of the said islands and mainland for the King and Queen, our lords, through the untiring efforts of Don Christopher Columbus, their Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of those islands, who has given an account of them to their Highnesses, that the people whom he found dwelling there he knew to be very fit to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, because they have no law nor sect, for this cause their Highnesses were and are pleased, because in everything it is just that respect should be had to the service of God our Lord and the advancement of our Holy Catholic Faith. Therefore, their Highnesses, desiring that our Holy Catholic Faith be augmented and increased, command and charge the said Admiral, Viceroy and Governor, that in all ways and manners possible he shall work and strive to attract the dwellers in the said islands and mainland to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith. To aid in this, their Highnesses send thither the learned Fray Buil, together with other religious persons, whom the said Admiral is to take with him. These, together with the Indians who came hither, since they will by that time be well instructed in

[1] See Appendix, xvii.

things appertaining to our Holy Catholic Faith, because they know already and understand much of our language, and the priests will instruct them in it [the tenets of the faith], when the fleet shall have arrived, the Admiral shall strive and effect that all who sail in the fleet, or follow at a later date, shall treat very lovingly the said Indians, without causing them annoyance, striving that they shall have much society and intimacy with them, showing them the best possible offices. . . . And because spiritual things without the temporal cannot last long, the Admiral shall observe the following rules [of administration]."

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How far these provisions were suggested by the letter of Columbus, and how far they depend upon the condition imposed by the Pope in his Bull of Demarcation, must be left for consideration outside of the limits of this paper, since the very uncertainty in the matter would vitiate any conclusions which we might draw. But it is interesting to note that the suggestions made in the *Journal*, and probably urged orally after the return, were adopted, and corresponding orders were in fact placed at the head of the "Instructions." Formally the rules of administration were ordained in order that they might secure the permanency of the spiritual interests of the islands. But that they really held the first place is open to most serious doubt in view of later facts.

In summing up the matter, it may be noted that we are not justified in imposing our modern and evangelical conceptions as to the true scope and work of missions upon the period of which we speak. The religion of the time was a dead formalism and a mere ritualism. But such as it was, we must accept the contemporary conception as that by which to judge. To say an *ave* and make the sign of the Cross was to take a long step toward being christianized.

As to the people whom he had discovered, Columbus gives his notion repeatedly. They were meek and peaceable; they might be converted easily. They were well treated, if we can judge from an *ex-parte* statement, but the assertion was often coupled with the naïve admission that it was in order to allay suspicion and as a means to

gain information as to the existence and location of "gold mines." The assertion that they had no form of religion may be accepted for what it is worth—that of a man whose statement was based upon an extensive acquaintance of twenty-four hours. The kidnapping of natives was a rather high-handed performance, but perfectly intelligible if the object was to ascertain where gold could be found, rather far-fetched, however, when justified as a means to evangelization. In this, as almost everywhere, the first cry is "gold," and the second is "christianize"—but with a suspiciously intimate connection with *more gold*. After the resources of the island have been ascertained, the endeavor to christianize will be prosecuted. Even the hope that the Sovereigns should receive a "will and desire to increase the holy Christian religion" is coupled with a desire expressed in the same sentence and identical terms, for a similar increase of temporal power and earthly dominion. Such expressions are frequent.

From this it will be evident that the conclusions at which we have arrived as to the existence of intentions to seek the conversion of the natives, are that such intentions, whenever they may have arisen, found expression certainly, but in a very subsidiary and secondary position. The means which he proposed to use in evangelization must be considered by one who would investigate the Admiral's missionary methods, not by us.

But in order that the grounds for our conclusions as to Columbus' religious motives may be more clearly understood, it will be necessary to quote briefly the only expressions in which we find traces of them. These passages are as follows[1]: "I hope that your Highnesses will decide upon this course [of evangelization] with diligence," even with the zeal of the Inquisition. He prays that they may be endued with a "will and desire to increase the holy Christian religion" (Nov. 6, 1492).[2] Again he says: "Thus your Highnesses ought to christianize them" (Nov. 12, 1492).[3]

[1] See Appendix, ix.

[2] See Appendix, ix.

[3] See Appendix, x.

And once more: "I have much hope that your Highnesses will christianize them all" (Dec. 16, 1492), and finally: "I hope that their Highnesses will decide to convert them to our holy faith" (Feb. 15, 1493).[1]

Now it is submitted that if no one had ever advanced the supposition that the project to evangelize the lands to be discovered was one of the primary incentives to the undertaking, no sober-minded reader would ever imagine from the wording of these extracts that such was the case. Furthermore, the very form in which these statements are uniformly couched, adds still further to our doubt. Each time it is a hope, desire, longing, that the Sovereigns would be moved to undertake the evangelization of the new lands; that they should receive from God such a "desire and will" as to thus incline them to undertake the work. If the matter had been one which had been a primary consideration in the case, such language was evidently out of place. What we find is that Columbus himself saw that the plan was feasible, and, from his standpoint as a loyal Catholic, desirable. But in these extracts we fail to find anything which necessitates or justifies the suppositions of those who imagine that we must incorporate religious motives with those of material advantage, which Columbus presented to the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain when he was urging them to sanction and equip the expedition.

In fact there is but one passage upon which such a supposition can rest. It is found in the *Journal* under date of Nov. 27, 1492.[2] "And I assert that your Highnesses ought not to allow any except Catholic Christians to set foot or trade here, since this was the aim and inception of the undertaking, that it should be for the increase and glory of the Christian religion; and likewise none should be allowed to come to these parts except they be good Christians." This sentence furnishes all the ground which we have been able to find for the supposition that we have been considering. Without entering into a discussion of what this passage might mean, but taking it as it stands, it is the

[1] See Appendix, xiii.

[2] See Appendix, xi.

strongest evidence we have to the discernment of the Admiral, to his Christian character, and to the sincerity of his purpose at that time. It also furnishes us with our sole authentic evidence that he was, in large degree and primarily, actuated by a religious motive. But it does not prove that any such motive actuated the King or even the Queen, and it does not make it necessary to assume or admit that it was one of the heads among the propositions which he submitted to the royal inspection.

The conclusions at which we have thus arrived are:

First: So far as the documents in our possession go, there is no proof that Columbus ever set forth any religious considerations as motives to influence the action of the King and Queen, and only one entry in his *Journal*, previous to the publication of the Bull of Demarcation, supports the supposition that any such motives existed, but it does not prove that they were urged.

Second: Columbus learned after reaching the Indies that the scheme of introducing Christianity was feasible, and in fact he began to teach the *Salve*, the *Ave Maria*, and the sign of the Cross, to the natives whom he kidnapped. But the position which this motive occupied in his mind was certainly subordinate. To christianize the Indians would inure: first, to the advantage of the gold-seekers; second, to the glory and honor of the Sovereigns and the Church; and, lastly, to the converts themselves.

With the later shape which the scheme took and with the terrible blunders and unending greed which proved the ruin of fond hopes, we have nothing to do at this time. The "christianized" native, who, after twice crossing the sea and spending considerable time in the lap of Spanish Christianity, so suddenly, mysteriously, and completely disappeared when liberated on the coast of Cuba, offered a fitting foreshadowing of the fate which would overtake the religious motives of Columbus under his followers' rage and greed of gold.

APPENDIX,

GIVING THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF PASSAGES CITED OR TRANSLATED IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

I.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI., DATED MAY 4, 1493.

"Alexander Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei. Carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi: & carissimæ in Christo filiæ Elisabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, Sicilliæ, et Granatæ, illustribus. Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem.

"Inter cetera divinæ Majestati beneplacita opera, & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit, ut fides Catholica & Christiana religio, nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur, ac ubilibet amplietur & dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbaricæ nationes deprimantur, & ad fidem ipsam reducantur. . . .

"§ 1. Sane accepimus quod vos dudum animum proposueratis aliquas insulas & terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas quærere & invenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem nostrum, & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis. . . .

"§ 4. Unde omnibus diligenter, & præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, terras firmas & insulas prædictas, illarumque incolas & habitatores vobis divina favente clementia subjicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis.

"§ 5. Nos igitur huiusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes, ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur & ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quam plurimum in Domino, & per sacri Lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, & viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem huiusmodi omnino prosequi, & assumere proba mente orthodoxæ Fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiusmodi insulis & terris degentes ad Christianam religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo umquam tempore vos deterreant, firme spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur.

"§ 6. . . . § 7. . . . Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ (sicut pollicemini, & non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione & regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad terras firmas & insulas prædictas viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos, ad instruendum incolas & habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes.

"§ 8. . . . § 9. . . . In illo à quo imperia & dominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt confidentes, quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si huiusmodi sanctum, & laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum felicitate & gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores & conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur.

"§ 10. . . . § 11. . . .

"Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio, Quarto nonas Maij, Pont. nostri Anno primo." [*Bullarium Romanum Novissimum*, Romæ, 1638, tom. i., pp. 346, 347. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Lugduni, 1592, tom. i., pp. 466, 467. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Luxemburgi, 1727, tom. 1., pp. 454, 455. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum seu ejusdem Continuatio*, Luxemburgi, 1741, tom. x., p. 2.]

II.

Letter of Toscanelli to Columbus.

" . . . Causará grande alegría al Rey y á los Príncipes que reinan en estas tierras lejanas, abrirles el camino para comunicar con los Cristianos, á fin de hacerse instruir en la Religion Católica." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, ii., p. 3.]

III.

Journal, under Date of October 12, 1492.

"Yo porque nos tuviesen mucha amistad, porque conoscí que era gente que mejor se libraria y convertiria á nuestra Santa Fé con amor que no con fuerza; les dí á algunos de ellos unos bonetes colorados y unas cuentas de vidrio que se ponian al pescuezo. . . . Ellos deben ser buenos servidores y de buen ingenio, que veo que muy presto dicen todo lo que les decia, y creo que ligeramente se harian cristianos, que me pareció que ninguna secta tenian. Yo, placiendo á Nuestro Señor, levaré de aquí al tiempo de mi partida seis á V. A. para que deprendan fablar." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*. i., p. 22.]

IV.

Letter of Columbus to Rafael Sanchez, February 18, 1493.

"Carta de Cristóbal Colon al magnifico Sr. Rafael Sanchez, Tesorero. . . . asimismo compraban como idiotas, . . . lo que prohibí por ser injusto, y les dí muchos utensilios bellos. . . . sin exigir recompensa para atraérmelas con mas facilidad, para que reciban la fe de Jesucristo, y para que esten mas dispuestas é inclinadas al amor y obediencia al Rey, y á la Reina, . . . Luego que arribé á aquel mar tomé con violencia en la primer isla algunos Indios que aprendiesen de nosotros y nos enseñasen igualmente cuanto conocian en aquel pais, y esto nos fue de gran ventaja, porque en breve tiempo nos entendimos á ellos y ellos á nosotros, así por demonstraciones como por señales y palabras." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., pp. 185, 187.]

V.

Journal, October 13, 1492.

"Y yo estaba atento y trabajaba de saber si habia oro." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 23.]

VI.

JOURNAL, OCTOBER 14, 1492.

" . . . porque esta gente es muy simplice en armas. . . . con cincuenta hombres los terná todos sojuzgados, y les hará hacer todo lo que quisiere." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 25.]

VII.

JOURNAL, OCTOBER 16, 1492.

" . . . Esta isla [Fernandina] es grandísima y tengo determinado de la rodear, porque segun puedo entender en ella, ó cerca della, hay mina de oro." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*. i., p. 29.]

VIII.

JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 1, 1492.

" . . . Esta gente, dice el Almirante, es de la misma calidad y costumbre de los otros hallados, sin ninguna secta que yo conozca, que fasta hoy aquestos que traigo no he visto hacer ninguno oracion, antes dicen la *Salve y el Ave María* con las manos al cielo como le amuestran, y hacen la señal de la cruz. . . . " [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 46.]

IX.

JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 6, 1492.

" . . . Tengo por dicho. . . . que sabiendo la lengua dispuesta suya personas devotas religiosas, que luego todos se tornarian cristianos ; y así espero en nuestro Señor que vuestras Altezas se determinarán á ello con mucha diligencia para tornar á la Iglesia tan grandes pueblos, y los convertirán, así como han destruido aquellos que no quisieron confesar el Padre, y el Hijo, y el Espíritu Santo ; y despues de sus dias, que todos somos mortales, dejarán sus reinos en muy tranquilo estado, y limpios de heregía y maldad, y serán bien rescebidos delante el Eterno Criador, al cual plega de les dar larga vida y acrecentamiento grande de mayores reinos y señoríos, y voluntad y disposicion para acrecentar la santa religion cristiana así como hasta aqui tienen fecho, amen. . . . " [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 52.]

X.

JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 12, 1492.

" . . . Dijo quel Domingo antes 11 de Noviembre le habia parecido que fuera bien tomar algunas personas de las de aquel rio para llevar á los Reyes por que aprendieran nuestra lengua para saber lo que hay en la tierra, y porque volviendo sean lenguas de los cristianos y tomen nuestras costumbres y las cosas de la Fé, 'porque yo ví é cognozco (dice el Almirante) questa gente no tiene secta ninguna, ni son idólatras, salvo muy mansos, y sin saber que sea mal, ni matar á otros, ni prender, y sin armas, y tan temerosos que á una

persona de los nuestros fuyen ciento dellos, aunque burlen con ellos, y crédulos y cognoscedores que hay Dios en el cielo, é firmes que nosotros habemos venido del cielo, y muy presto á qualquiera oracion que nos les digamos que digan y hacen la señal de la cruz ✠. Así que deben vuestras Altezas determinarse á los hacer cristianos, que creo que si comienzan, en poco tiempo acabará de los haber convertido á nuestra Santa Fé multidumbre de pueblos, y cobrando grandes señoríos y riquezas . . . porque sin duda es en estas tierras grandisima suma de oro.' " [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 54.]

XI.

Journal, November 27, 1492.

" . . . ; y estos indios que yo traigo muchas veces le entiendo una cosa por otra al contrario, ni fio mucho dellos porque muchas veces han probado á fugir . . . y despues se sabrán los beneficios y se trabajará de hacer todos estos pueblos cristianos porque de ligero se hará. . . . Y digo que vuestras Altezas no deben consentir que aquí trate ni faga pie ningun extrangero, salvo católicos cristianos, pues esto fue el fin y el comienzo del propósito que fuese por acrecentamiento y gloria de la Religion cristiana, ni venir á estas partes ninguno que no sea buen cristiano." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 71.]

XII.

Letter of Las Casas to Philip II., Dated October 25, 1545.

"Carta de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, obispo de Chiapa, y de Fray Antonio de Valdivieso, obispo de Nicaragua, al Príncipe don Felipe, sobre asuntos temporales y espirituales de sus obispados y de la Audiencia de los confines.—Gracias á Dios, 25 de octobre de 1545.

" Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor:— . . . La Iglesia acá está tan perdida y abatida, y la obediençia á los perlados tan oluidada, que afirmamos en verdad que nos pareçe muy poco menos questar en Alemaña . . .

" Considere V. A. que los reyes de Castilla tienen estas tierras conçedidas por la Santa Sede Apostolica, para fundar en ellas nueva iglesia y la religion christiana, y saluar las ánimas ; y que hasta aqui no solo no se a fundado, pero la que allà en esas partes avia, ya se a perdido é infamado con ella el nombre de Jesuchristo, de mayor infamia que nunca la tuvo entre turcos ni moros ni alarabes, desde que se descubrieron estas Yndias hasta oy . . . . " [*Cartas de Indias*, núm. iv.]

XIII.

Journal, Sunday, December 16, 1492.

" . . . porque son la mejor gente del mundo y mas mansa ; y sobre todo, que tengo mucha esperanza en nuestro Señor que vuestras Altezas los harán todos cristianos, y serán todos suyos, que por suyos los tengo." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., p. 92.]

XIV.

JOURNAL, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1492.

" . . . que así protesté á vuestras Altezas que toda la ganancia desta mi empresa se gastase en la conquista de Jerusalen, y vuestras Altezas se rieron y dijeron que les placia." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., 117.]

XV.

LETTER TO LUIS DE SANTANGEL, FEBRUARY 15, 1493.

"Carta del Almirante Cristóbal Colon escrita al Escribano de Racion de los Señores Reyes Católicos. Señor: . . . En todas estas islas no vide mucha diversidad de la fechura de la gente, ni en las costumbres ni en la lengua, salvo que todos se entienden, que es cosa muy singular; para lo que espero que determinarán sus Altezas para la conversion dellos á nuestra Santa Fé á la cual son muy dispuestos. . . . En conclusion, á fablar desto solamente que se ha fecho, este viage que fue así de corrida, pueden ver sus Altezas que yo les daré oro cuanto hobieren menester con muy poquita ayuda que sus Altezas me darán." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, i., 171–173.]

XVI.

LETTER FROM COLUMBUS TO THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS. [WITHOUT DATE.]

"Carta de Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Católicos acerca de la poblacion y negociacion de la Española y de las otras islas descobiertas y por descubrir. —sin fecha.

"Muy altos y poderosos Señores: Obedesçiendo lo que vuestras alteças me mandaron, diré lo que me occurre para la poblacion y negociacion, asy de la Ysla Española como de las otras, asy halladas como por hallar. . . . Primeramente, para en lo de la Ysla Española, que vayan hasta en número de dos mill veçinos, los que quisieren yr, porque la tierra esté mas segura y se pueda mejor grangear é tratar . . .

"Yten, que en la dicha ysla se hagan tres ó cuatro pueblos é repartidos en los lugares mas convenibles, é los veçinos que allá fueren sean repartidos por los dichos lugares y pueblos. . . .

"Yten, que haya iglesia y abades ó frayles para adminystracion de los sacramentos y cultos divinos y para conversion de los yndios . . .

"Yten, que de todo el oro que oviere, se saque uno por ciento para la fábrica de las yglesias y ornamentos dellas é para sustentacion de los abades ó frayles dellas . . . " [*Cartas de Indias*, núm. i.]

XVII.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVEREIGNS TO THE ADMIRAL, MAY 29, 1493.

["Instruccion de los Reyes al Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon así para el viage que iba á hacer á las Indias, como para el buen gobierno de la nueva Colonia.]

"Primeramente, pues á Dios nuestro Señor plugo por su alta misericordia descobrir las dichas islas, é tierra-firme al Rey é á la Reina nuestros Señores por industria del dicho D. Cristóbal Colon, su Almirante Visorey, é Gobernador dellas, el cual á fecho relacion á sus Altezas, que las gentes que en ellas falló pobladas, conoció dellas ser gentes muy aparejadas para se convertir á nuestra Santa Fe Católica, porque no tienen ninguna ley ni seta; de lo cual ha placido y place mucho á sus Altezas, porque en todo es razon que se tenga principalmente respeto al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, é ensalzamiento de nuestra Santa Fe Católica: por ende sus Altezas deseando que nuestra Santa Fe Católica sea aumentada é acrescentada, mandan é encargan al dicho Almirante, Visorey, é Gobernador, que por todas las vias é maneras que pudiere procure é trabaje atraer á los moradores de las dichas islas é tierra-firme, á que se conviertan á nuestra Santa Fe Católica; y para ayuda á ello sus Altezas envian allá al docto P. Fr. Buil, juntamente con otros Religiosos que el dicho Almirante consigo ha de llevar, los cuales por mano é industria de los indios que acá venieron, procure que sean bien informados de las cosas de nuestra Santa Fe, pues ellos sabrán é entenderán ya mucho de nuestra lengua, è procurando de los instruir en ella lo mejor que ser pueda; y porque esto mejor se pueda poner en obra despues que en buen hora sea llegada allá el armada, procure é haga el dicho Almirante que todos los que en ella van, é los que mas fueren de aquí adelante, traten muy bien é amorosamente á los dichos indios, sin que les fagan enojo alguno, procurando que tengan los unos con los otros mucha conversacion é familiaridad, haciendose las mejores obras que ser pueda; é asimismo, el dicho Almirante les dé algunas dádivas graciosamente de las cosas de mercaderías de sus Altezas que lleva para el rescate, é les honre mucho: é si caso fuere que alguna ó algunas personas trataren mal á los dichos indios en cualquier manera que sea, el dicho Almirante, como Visorey é Gobernador de sus Altezas, lo castigue mucho por virtud de los poderes de sus Altezas que para ello lleva; y porque las cosas espirituales sin las temporales no pueden luengamente durar, terná el dicho Almirante é Gobernador en las otras cosas la orden siguiente." [Navarrete, *Coleccion*, ii., doc. dip. xlv.]

THE "HEADS OF AGREEMENT," AND THE UNION OF CONGREGATIONALISTS AND PRESBYTERIANS BASED ON THEM IN LONDON, 1691

THE "HEADS OF AGREEMENT," AND THE UNION OF CONGREGATIONALISTS AND PRESBYTERIANS BASED ON THEM IN LONDON, 1691.

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Any one who has glanced at the venerable document known as the "Saybrook Platform," which served as the legal basis of Connecticut Congregationalism during the eighteenth century, has noticed that there are prefaced to the fifteen famous Articles which form the Platform itself, not only the elaborate Confession of Faith adopted at the Savoy palace in 1658 and re-enacted at Boston in 1680, but certain "Heads of Agreement Assented to by the United Ministers formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational," as their title runs. And if one's curiosity has been sufficiently aroused to read the words of introduction in which the Saybrook divines describe their work, one finds them uniting in the declaration that these Heads of Agreement shall "be observed by the Churches throughout this Colony"[1] of Connecticut. The question at once presents itself how it came about that a document which purports to be a compromise between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, should be accepted as one of the pillars of the legally established ecclesiastical constitution of a colony where declared Presbyterianism had as yet no foothold; and be received as so authoritative an exposition of eighteenth-century Connecticut Congregationalism as to form the liberal half of the two fold result of the Saybrook Synod, and at least a co-ordinate

[1] *Saybrook Platform*, ed. 1760, p. 96.

actor in the Platform, without the adoption of which the Synod would never have arrived at unanimity. What it was, and how it came so to be used, is the object of our present inquiry.

The great Puritan party which arose in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and which constituted the strength of the opposition to the house of Stuart, was, at first, predominantly Presbyterian. The influence of sojourn in Geneva and the Netherlands, the example of neighboring Scotland, the inculcation of great teachers like Cartwright, made the views of the majority of the early Puritans as to the proper constitution of the Church essentially Presbyterian. Among a few, more democratic conceptions of church government had found lodgment, and in the later days of Elizabeth, congregations of Separatists, small in numbers and almost unnoticed by the religious world, had sought refuge beyond the seas, in the Netherlands. The seeds they bore were in due time planted on New England soil, and determined the growth and fruitage of transatlantic Puritanism; but, up to the eve of the civil war in England, so great was the hold of Presbyterianism on the party that hoped for the reform of the English Church that even so well informed a man as Richard Baxter could declare that he grew up to the age of twenty-five, and exercised the office of a Puritan minister, before he ever knew the difference between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, or met any man who could explain it to him.[2] Yet there were for years before Baxter began his ministry at Kidderminster, English Congregationalists of note, and half a score of them were among the number who answered the parliamentary summons and constituted the Westminster Assembly in 1643. That famous body, which though English in its voting membership, gave form to the doctrinal beliefs and churchly usages of Scotland, and of American Presbyterianism, was, as we all are aware, essentially Presbyterian. The five prominent Congregationalists in the body and their few adhe-

[2] Till 1641. *True Hist. Councils*, p. 90, quoted by Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature*, p. 651.

rents, debated and contested the points of division with a keenness of logic and a cogency of argument which won them the respect of their opponents. They sent appeals to Parliament which were not without effect on that body and on the nation at large. But when the two parties came to muster *votes* on disputed questions the Presbyterians in the Assembly could count on six or seven-fold more than the utmost strength of their opponents could rally.

But with the progress of the civil war there came a change. Men came flocking back from New England who had learned something of the possibilities of democracy in Church and State. The exigencies of the conflict demanded the raising of armies that had their hearts in the result of the conflict. As Cromwell said, it took men who "made some conscience of what they did"[3] to beat down the men of honor who stood on the king's side. And, as in all times of intense struggle, the men of the strongest and most positive views came to the front. The men of religion who filled the armies of the Commonwealth came from the region of England which had opposed most stoutly the prelacy and ceremonials of the Establishment, the region, too, which had sent Puritan colonies to New England, and to which many of the New England Congregationalists came back at the outbreak of the struggle. It was natural, therefore, that the army should represent the phase of questions then agitating England in regard to the government of Church and State most opposed to the views of the royalist faction. The army it was then that favored the establishment of a government without a king and of the Congregational system of local self-control in ecclesiastical affairs. In Cromwell, the leader and the best example of the spirit of the renovated army, this feeling was the controlling motive; and with his elevation to the headship of the state the Congregationalism of the army had at least the political importance, if not the numerical following, of the Presbyterianism of Parliament and the Westminster Assembly.

[3] Speech, in Harrison, *O. Cromwell*, p. 60.

It seems, at the first sight, strange that a separation of the great Puritan party at this crisis in its history into two factions was unavoidable. Alike in doctrinal belief, in their opposition to prelacy, in their conceptions of the proper forms of worship, and largely accordant in their views as to the nature of the ministry and its functions, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of that day seem more closely bound to one another than any other branches of the Christian Church. They themselves then recognized this likeness, as they have ever since. They addressed one another as "brethren." Even in those days of intense partisanship and religious bigotry, Congregationalists and Presbyterians did not fail to accord to one another full recognition as fellow-Christians. But with all their manifold likenesses, the points of divergence between Presbyterians and Congregationalists were then, as now, considerable. In the English struggle of the seventeenth century, the great matter of separation was as to the existence or non-existence of a *National Church.* To such an institution the Presbyterians clung. It is no wonder that they did so. Their training had been in the Establishment on which the great Tudor sovereigns had impressed their will, and which was the Church of England. They were not Separatists. They had never sought to withdraw from the national church. They simply desired to reform it. They believed, in common with the heartiest supporters of English prelacy, that there should be but one form of recognized worship in England. The training of the nation had been in that idea, and it was not easy to break away from it at a time when all Protestant Europe held to the conception of a national church, supported by the power of the state, and of which the civil ruler was the head, as the proper form of organization for the kingdom of God on earth. The Presbyterians did not, indeed, completely submerge the identity of the local congregation. But, in their estimation, the local congregation was to be a part of a reformed Church of England, responsible to a series of church courts which should knit together the whole in a compact unity.

In the Congregational view, on the other hand, no such thing as a national church existed under the New Testament economy. There should be churches, each independent in its local concerns, each bound to its neighbors by links of fellowship and advice—though on this matter of the mutual relations of churches, English Congregationalism never arrived at any such clearness of conception as was attained in New England. Over these churches the Congregationalist would place no ecclesiastical body, whether self-constituted or representative of the Church as a whole, whose behests could bind the action of the smallest local congregation. Here then was a radical and, as experience proved, irreconcilable difference of conception between Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

But this difference no more prevented attempts at union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the England of the seventeenth century than other points of divergence have prevented such efforts at co-operation in the home and foreign missionary enterprises of our own land and time. Though the great body of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England walked in divided paths under the Commonwealth, yet there were a number of attempts at union, some of which were successful in a considerable degree. For example, in one far off corner of England an association of the two parties was brought about, in 1656, on terms which reflect credit on the Christian charity of both. The record of this union, which was one of several, is to be found in a little quarto pamphlet bearing that date, and entitled the *Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland, and VVestmerland.*[4] Even to this day Cumberland and Westmoreland, on the extreme northwestern border of England, are among the lesser of English counties. But in the England of the Commonwealth, a union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists there was about as remote

[4] Printed in London. Other associations existed in Worcestershire, Devonshire, Essex, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire. See Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 77, 78.

from the centres of influence, ecclesiastical and political, as a similar union would be to-day in our own State of Oregon.

Yet, if the scene of this attempted union of 1656 was provincial, the principles on which the agreement was based were of general application. The associated ministers and churches drew up four general rules by which their relations one to another were to be governed. They agreed, to use their own words:

"1. That in the exercise of Discipline, it is not onely the most safe course, but also most conducing to brotherly union and satisfaction, That particular Churches carry on as much of their work with joynt and mutual assistance, as they can with conveniency and edification, and as little as may be in their actings, to stand distinctly by themselves, and apart from each other.

"2. That in matters of *Church Discipline*, those things which belong onely *ad melius esse* (things not essential), ought to be laid aside, both in respect of publication and practice, rather then that the Churches peace be hindred.

"3. That when different principles lead to the same practice, wee may joyn together in that practice, reserving to each of us our own principles.

"4. That when we can neither agree in principle, nor in practice, we are to bear with one another's differences, that are of a less and disputable nature, vvithout making them a ground of division amongst us."[5]

On the basis of these four admirable rules of union, the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of Westmoreland and Cumberland pledged themselves to specific courses of action in regard to some of the disputed questions of the time. They readily agreed to insist that all who came to the Lord's Table should be of "unblamable conversation" and acquainted with the main doctrines of religion; but just *how* that test was to be applied was one of the dividing points between the two parties of that day—the Congregationalists insisting that a man before his first admission to the ordinance should make a declaration of the work of grace in his own soul. The united ministers and churches

[5] *Agreement*, etc., p. 3.

allowed that this should be left to the choice of the applicant, and that they would on the one hand neither exclude persons of good reputation for want of such a declaration, nor, on the other hand, hesitate to encourage all who would to make it.[6]

Another disputed matter of practice at that day was in regard to ministerial ordination, whether by the interested church or by other ministers formed into an ecclesiastical body. The Agreement wisely left the matter to the churches, but provided that the pastors of neighboring congregations should in any case be invited to examine the candidate and assist in the act of ordination.[7]

A yet more pressing, because more frequently recurring, variation between the two bodies, was in regard to the share of the brethren of the local church in its discipline. The Congregationalists insisted upon the participation of all the male membership as a right, while Presbyterians affirmed that to the officers alone belonged the power of action and decision. A compromise in Cumberland and Westmoreland gave to the officers the right of action, but provided that their flocks should be consulted, and the satisfaction of the membership of the interested church in regard to the propriety of any proposed course of action at least endeavored.[8]

And, finally, the ministers concerned associated themselves into three bodies for monthly meetings, to discuss the state of their churches, and to advise in matters of importance—their decision being, like the result of a New England council, no further binding than it was found by those advised to be in accord with the word of God.[9]

Such a union shows that the leaven of charity in religious differences was to be found in various parts of England, but how little it affected the general relations of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the island is also made plain by the meeting, two years later, of the great Congregational council at the Savoy palace in London,[10] which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 18.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–21.
[10] Sept. 29–Oct. 12, 1658.

emended the Westminster Confession in accordance with Congregational principles, and issued in opposition to the Presbyterian *Form of Church Government* a statement of the order which they believed to have been established in the churches by Christ. In England as a whole, the Commonwealth saw no permanent union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

With the restoration of the house of Stuart the whole situation was changed. That restoration had been accomplished, in no small degree, by the Presbyterians, who were duped into believing that they would be treated with special consideration by the returned King. But, in the fervor of the Anglican reaction, all distinctions between opponents of the English Establishment were obliterated, and the repressive acts of the government bore on Congregationalists and Presbyterians with equal severity.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 drove some 2,000 Puritan ministers from their livings in the Church of England. The same year saw, for the first time since the Reformation, the prescription of episcopal ordination as a necessity for all who held livings in the English Church. These radical laws were followed by others yet more oppressive. The Conventicle Act of 1664 made public worship, save in accordance with the rites of the Establishment, almost impossible. The Five Mile Act of 1665 made it wellnigh hopeless for a Puritan minister to attempt to earn a living. Under such hardships the differences between Presbyterians and Congregationalists became less and less. The national church, for which Presbyterians had longed, was clearly a dream impossible of realization. The persistent efforts of many of the Presbyterian leaders for some kind of a compromise which would give them a place in a more comprehensive Established Church were without result. It was evident that, hunted as they were, the most strenuous defenders of Presbyterianism were in a position practically similar to that of the Congregationalists. They could maintain little more than isolated congregations, fortunate if able to secure advice and fellowship from other bodies similarly situated,

but unable effectively to operate any elaborate system of church courts or ecclesiastical assemblies. So it came about that under the pressure of persecution the remnants of the two bodies drew closer together; and after the first relief from their burdens came in the Declaration of Indulgence of 1673, by which Charles II. wished to favor his Catholic friends and obtain some degree of popularity with the Nonconformists, the leaders of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the vicinity of London strove earnestly for a union. Renewed persecution in 1682 ended their attempts for the time.[11]

At last in 1688 the Catholic James II. was driven from the throne by the combined efforts of Churchmen and Nonconformists, joined for the first time in the century by a sense of the danger threatening their common Protestant heritage. The reward of the Nonconformists for their patriotic and self-denying action came in the Toleration Act of 1689, by which their right to exist and to worship was legally recognized, though under somewhat onerous conditions. But though the nation was grateful to the Dissenters, and the new King, William of Orange, would gladly have given them greater privileges than a bare toleration, the churchly spirit of the Anglican party, which would not admit the Nonconformists to government office or to the universities, made it evident to the most sanguine Congregationalists and Presbyterians that they could look for no wide acceptance of their polities. Though freed from persecution, the Presbyterians were as far off as ever from the establishment of a national church on their model. All the circumstances in the situation of the two parties counselled the union of bodies so similar in beliefs and practical administration. Accordingly, not long after the passage of the Toleration Act, representatives of the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in the vicinity of London began to negotiate regarding an agreement. Committees chosen

[11] *Hist. of the Union between Presb. and Cong. Ministers*, etc., 2d ed. London, 1698, p. 1. This lively and anonymous tract is clearly the work of a Congregationalist.

from each side debated, and, as they discussed, drew nearer together.[12] The union for which they had longed seemed feasible to the leaders of each party. The movement was, it would appear, throughout purely ministerial, and one in which the churches, as distinguished from their pastors, had no share.

Though we know nothing in detail as to the course of the debates between the two bodies, we are fortunately not in ignorance as to the leaders on the respective sides. Of the Congregational party, the chief representative was Matthew Mead, then about sixty years of age, and pastor of a large church at Stepney, then a suburb of London. A pronounced and earnest Nonconformist, he had been an object of persecution under Charles II. and James II.; and he had been falsely charged with privity to the attempt upon the life of King Charles in 1683, known as the "Rye House Plot." In consequence of his prominence in Dissenting circles he had been compelled to flee to Holland, and had there so gained the respect of the Dutch people that, upon his return to London at the accession of William III., they made a contribution of four handsome pillars to adorn the new house of worship which his congregation was erecting at Stepney. Such a man, while in no sense a theologian or an orator of the first rank, was a worthy and honored representative of the Congregational body.

On the side of the Presbyterians the chief leader was John Howe, then, like Mead, about sixty years of age, and famous for at least thirty-five years previous as the most eloquent of English preachers, a man whose pulpit popularity ranks him with Whitefield and Spurgeon. His eloquence must indeed have been of an entrancing nature, for his pulpit ministrations were noted for their length, even in those days of excessive liberality in the expenditure of time in public worship. But that Mr. Howe charmed, rather than wearied, his hearers there is the best of evidence, for though his first settlement under the Commonwealth was at Torrington, in extreme southwestern England, his fame penetrated to the ears of

[12] *History of the Union*, etc., ed. 1698, p. 2.

Cromwell, and Howe became one of the Protector's chaplains, an office which he held till the death of his benefactor, and continued under the brief incumbency of Oliver's son Richard. Howe was at that time a Congregationalist, but his kindly sympathy not only for Presbyterians but for the then proscribed clergymen of the abolished Establishment made him many friends among Episcopalians and brought at the Restoration offers of profitable and distinguished preferment in the revived Church of England.

Howe's conscience would not allow him to submit to the Act of Uniformity, with its declaration of acceptance of everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. He was ejected from his renewed pastorate at Torrington, and for a time lived in great straits, being imprisoned, and after his release obliged to seek a chaplaincy in Ireland. But upon Charles II.'s first indulgence to Dissenters Howe returned to London. Compelled by the renewed persecutions to go to the Continent in 1685, he became associated with Matthew Mead in the care of the church at Utrecht, and made the personal acquaintance of William of Orange, soon to be William III. of England. On the first opportunity he returned to London, and at the passage of the Toleration Act was looked upon as beyond all question the foremost Dissenter in England. At the same time Howe's Nonconformity, though conscientious and self-sacrificing, was broad. He hoped with increasing earnestness, as time went on, that an adjustment might be reached by which he and like-minded men might be admitted to a place in a modified Established Church.[13] Nor did this hope seem wholly vain. Some of the more liberal of the prelates of the Church of England believed it feasible; one or two actually entered into correspondence with Howe regarding it. King William was known to be favorable to such an extension of the borders of the Established Church. Among the Dissenters these views of Howe found general sympathy in Presbyterian quarters, while the Congregationalists, disbelieving as they did in the desirability of a national church,

[13] Compare Stoughton, *Hist. Religion in England*, v., 310, 311.

almost unanimously rejected them. So it came about that, under his desire for an honorable union with the Church of England, Howe drifted from association with the Congregationalists to closer intimacy with the Presbyterians, and without, it would appear, very actively embracing the Presbyterian polity as distinguished from the Congregational, was now the pastor of a flourishing Presbyterian church in London and the head and representative of the Presbyterian party in their negotiations for a union with the Congregationalists.

The two representatives of the parties to the Union in England, Matthew Mead, the Congregationalist, and John Howe, the Presbyterian, have thus passed before our view; but there was a third influence in the reconciliation more potent, it would appear, than either of the two Englishmen just named, and of more interest to us, in that he was an American, and through him runs the connection between the Heads of Agreement and American Congregationalism. The man above all others to whom the Union was due was Increase Mather.[14]

Increase Mather, the most influential of the three generations of Mathers, who adorned the early New England ministry, was now about fifty-one years of age, and for more than a decade previous had been undoubtedly the foremost clerical citizen of the colonies. He was now, as he had been for twenty-seven years, minister of the Second Church in Boston, and for the last six years, since 1685, he had discharged the duties of acting president of Harvard College,

[14] Compare C. Mather, *Blessed Unions* (1692), p. iii.; *Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii., 272; *Parentator*, pp. 147, 148. The latter thus records the activity of the three men: "Dr. *Annestey* and Mr. *Vincent* and others, often Declared, That this Union would never have been Effected, if Mr. *Mather* had not been among them. . . . He had Thanks from the *Country* as well as the *City* on that Account: And among the rest, a General Assembly of Ministers in *Devon*, sent up to *London* this Instrument. '*Junii* 23. 1691. Agreed, That the Reverend Mr. *John Flavel*, Moderator of this Assembly, send unto the Reverend Mr. *Matthew Mead*, Mr. *John How*, and Mr. *Increase Mather*, and give Them, and such Others as have been Eminently Instrumental in Promoting the *Union*, the Thanks of this Assembly, for the great Pains they have taken therein.'"

in addition to his pastoral ministrations, and an unwearied activity as a writer, which made him voluminous to a degree only exceeded, among the New England ministry, by his son Cotton Mather. At the same time he had largely engaged in the political struggle of Massachusetts against the tyranny of Andros, and in consequence of his prominence and the respect in which he was held by the public, when that tyranny had become wellnigh unendurable, he had been sent by his native colony to England. There he had witnessed the downfall of James II. and the accession of William and Mary, and had been charged with the task of procuring a charter for Massachusetts from the newly established monarchy. In this undertaking he was successfully engaged from 1688 to 1692; and it was while in England on this mission that he found opportunity to advance most materially, the efforts for union being put forth by the leaders of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

It seems not improbable that the first motion toward the union came from the desires of the newly emancipated Puritans to perpetuate an educated ministry. At all events the first fruits of the new spirit of brotherliness appeared in the establishment, on July 1, 1690, by benevolent Puritans, of a Fund to aid feeble churches and to educate candidates for the pastoral office. For the furtherance of this enterprise the donors invited many of the ministers about London to advise with them, and they, accepting the call, appointed seven Presbyterian pastors, among them John Howe, and seven Congregational ministers, including Matthew Mead, as Trustees of the new General Fund.[15] The union in benevolence thus begun had doubtless a powerful effect in paving the way for fellowship in all church relationship.

Under the guidance of Mead, Howe, and Mather, the negotiations for full fellowship between the two parties made more rapid and favorable progress than at any earlier time in their history. Agreement was reached with sub-

[15] Extracts from the documents and the names of the Trustees will be found in Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Appendix, pp. lvi.–li .

stantial unanimity. Some three of the Congregational ministers in the vicinity of London did, indeed, refuse to enter the proposed association, and possibly a few of the Presbyterians; but the great bulk of the representatives of both polities about London, more than eighty in all,[16] heartily supported the terms of agreement arrived at by their committees. At least two thirds of this number were doubtless Presbyterians, that persuasion being probably more than twice as strong, numerically, as the Congregationalists throughout England in the closing years of the seventeenth century.

The terms of the union having thus met the individual approval of substantially all the dissenting ministers about London, the compact was formally declared at a joint meeting of both parties on April 6, 1691, at which the titles Presbyterian and Congregational were abandoned, and the new body, entitled the "United Brethren." [17] The marriage thus auspiciously announced was celebrated at the same meeting by a sermon from Matthew Mead, which was soon after published under the quaint title of *Two Sticks Made One*.[18]

Inaugurated thus in London in April, 1691, the movement spread rapidly to the country. The eminent John Flavel, who had seconded the efforts of Mead, Howe, and Mather, journeyed to Exeter for the express purpose of introducing the union into Devonshire and Cornwall, and died just as he had accomplished his task.[19] Similar associations were formed in Hampshire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.[20] For a time

[16] *Hist. of the Union*, etc., p. 5. Preface to *Heads of Agreement*, p. [vi.]

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. v., 1, etc.; *Two Sticks*, p. [ii.], etc.

[18] *Two Sticks Made One: or, The Excellency of Unity*, etc., London, 1691. This discourse, which gives the date of the union, is an illustration of how completely a preacher, on an historic occasion, may divorce himself from history. The sermon is full of exhortation, but throws no light on the means by which the union had been brought about.

[19] Palmer's abridgment of Calamy, *Nonconformists' Memorial*, ed. London, 1775, i., 355. See p. 40, note 14 of this paper.

[20] Stoughton, *Hist. Religion in England*, v., 294, 295.

Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in England seemed really one body.

The document on which this union was based, the Heads of Agreement, is brief in comparison with most of the creeds and platforms of the seventeenth century. As originally published, it is embraced in sixteen loosely printed pages of small quarto, to which a short note of introduction is prefixed.[21] Like similar compromises generally, it minimizes as far as possible the distinguishing features of the systems which it attempts to combine. Union creeds are usually creeds of omission rather than of inclusiveness, and the Heads of Agreement are no exception. In a true sense, the document is open to the keen criticism of one of its contemporary Congregational opponents, that

"it was no more than a *Verbal Composition*, or a number of Articles *industriously* and *designedly* framed with great Ambiguity, that Persons retaining their different Sentiments about the same Things might yet seem to Unite."[22]

But, in so far as the document is positive, it leans in the direction of Congregationalism. It is, as Dr. Bacon affirmed, "in fact, though not in name, a Congregational platform,"[23] —and one fairly accordant with the Cambridge Platform. That this was the case was natural. Of the three men most instrumental in its composition, two were Congregationalists, while the third, though at the time affiliated with the Presbyterians, was a Congregationalist by early training and had joined his new associates more from approval of their general attitude toward possible union with the Church of England than from preference for the more permanent features of Presbyterianism. Then, too, the Heads of Agreement could not but recognize the existence of some divergence of views even in the union, and the toleration of such divergence of necessity signified that some degree of liberty of judgment and action—that is to say, some measure of Congregational self-government—was allowed to the congregations whose

[21] London, 1691, pp. vi., 16. [22] *Hist. of the Union*, etc., p. 3.
[23] *Contr. Eccles. Hist. Conn.*, p. 36.

ministers composed the association.[24] The Heads of Agreement contain no implication that church courts, synods, or general assemblies are desirable. It is indeed clearly affirmed that in cases affecting the welfare of the churches, advice is to be sought of the ministers of other churches. To be thoroughly Congregational, it should have included the brethren of other churches as well as their ministers. But the judgment thus invoked is no judicial sentence; it is no further binding than the results of a New England council.[25] Churches are defined in a sense quite acceptable to Congregationalists as "particular Societies of Visible Saints" (or as we should now say, professedly regenerate persons), "who under Christ their Head, are statedly joined together for ordinary Communion with one another, in all the Ordinances of Christ."[26] And furthermore it is affirmed that these churches enjoy their right to the ordinances "upon their mutual declared consent and agreement *to walk together therein according to Gospel Rule.*"[27] Such a "mutual declared consent" is nothing less than a Congregational church covenant, though a concession is made to Presbyterian prejudices in the admission that this covenant may be of varying degrees of "Expliciteness" in different congregations. These churches have severally, the "Right to chuse their own Officers" and administer their own affairs;[28] and in such administration the consent, at least, of the brethren is to be obtained to the acts of the church officers.[29] No church is to be subordinate to any other, and no "Officer or Officers," it is expressly affirmed, "shall exercise any *Power*, or have any *Superiority* over any other Church, or their Officers."[30] More inclined in the direction of Presbyterianism, but not inconsistent with what had come to be the usage on New England soil, was the provision that in calling a pastor the churches are ordinarily to consult the neighboring ministers, and these ministers are usually to

[24] Compare *ibid.*
[25] *Heads of Agreement*, § vi.
[26] *Ibid.*, § i., 2.
[27] *Ibid.*, § i., 4.
[28] *Ibid.*, § i., 6.
[29] *Ibid.*, § i., 7; iii., 3.
[30] *Ibid.*, § iv., 2.

unite with the preaching officers of the inviting church (in case the church is fortunate enough to be supplied with such an abundance of pastoral force) in the candidate's ordination.[31] Should the inviting church have no pastor, the implication is that, as in present New England usage, the neighboring ministers who have advised the candidate's settlement shall perform the ordaining act. A wise provision, not inconsistent with Congregationalism, though not hitherto found in Congregational platforms, declared that those who proposed to enter the Gospel ministry ought to be examined as to their "Gifts and fitness" by able pastors of churches.[32]

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Doubtless the Heads of Agreement did not represent the theories of their signers in their entirety. The document was not intended to be a complete treatise on church polity, but rather a treaty in accordance with which two bodies of men of somewhat divergent views might work together in harmony. It differs indeed on some points from the usages of the founders of New England, chiefly in its provisions for a more careful examination of candidates for the ministry, and its omission of reference to any right of ordination inherent in the brethren of a church unprovided with officers. But on these points the usages of New England were changing in the direction indicated by the Heads of Agreement. In general it may be said, then, that, save in their silence respecting the presence of representatives of the lay membership in ecclesiastical councils, the Heads of Agreement fairly set forth the practices of the third generation on New England soil; and, therefore, partly justify the extravagant praise bestowed upon them by Cotton Mather that "'t is not possible . . . to give a truer description of our [New England] 'ecclesiastical constitution'"[33] than they contain.

It is as a document of importance in New England church history, rather than in the story of English Congregationalism, that the Heads of Agreement have special value. Pre-

[31] *Ibid.*, § ii. [32] *Ibid.*, § ii., 7.

[33] *Magnalia*, ed. 1853, ii., 272.

pared like the Savoy Confession of 1658 by Englishmen for English use (if we except the agency of Increase Mather), like that Confession of Faith they have been chiefly employed in New England.

That they were so used in New England was the natural result of the instrumentality of the one American, Increase Mather, who had a share in the formation of the Union. His son Cotton, on receipt of a copy, at once preached on them to his Boston congregation, and the two laudatory sermons which he then delivered, together with the text of the Heads of Agreement, were printed and circulated about New England in 1692.[34] When, ten years later, the greatest historical work that the first century of American Christianity produced, the *Magnalia*, was given to the world, the Heads of Agreement were given an honored place side by side with the New England symbols and declared to be the best possible exposition of existent Congregationalism. The Mathers seem to have been proud of their work and to have furthered the knowledge of it and esteem for it as far as possible. So it came about that when the Saybrook Synod met in 1708 to frame an ecclesiastical constitution for Connecticut, the Heads of Agreement were widely known in New England and must have been thought by many to be the most modern and popular presentation of Congregationalism. But a closer connection between the Heads of Agreement and the divines at Saybrook than esteem for a recent and valuable exposition of Congregationalism can, I think, be traced. The aim of the colonial legislature in calling the Saybrook Synod was to give a stronger government to the Connecticut churches—in their own words it was to remedy the "defects of the discipline of the churches of this [Connecticut] government, arising from the want of a more explicite asserting the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures."[35] The chief agitators for a stronger ecclesiastical government in Massachusetts were the Mathers. In 1705 they and others had attempted, unsuccessfully, to

[34] *Blessed Unions*, etc., Boston, 1692.

[35] *Conn. Records*, v., 51.

introduce a system into Massachusetts much resembling that adopted at Saybrook for Connecticut three years later. The Mathers were in sympathy with the leaders of Connecticut Congregationalism, and an exposition of polity of which they approved would come with increased weight to the divines of Connecticut. That colony, like Massachusetts, had for sixty years been nominally guided by the Cambridge Platform, but that platform, though still venerated, was already antiquated in some of its provisions, and had been subject to so various interpretations, and so appealed to by all parties, that to re-enact it as the ecclesiastical basis of Connecticut would have brought no more order into Connecticut church administration than existed before.

One essential feature of any attempt to reinvigorate church discipline in Connecticut was a new expression of Congregational principles, and if a modern formula could be found which was already favorably known, and highly approved by those who desired a similar strengthening of church government in the greatest of the New England colonies, it would lighten the burden laid upon the Saybrook Synod and would make the result of their deliberations more acceptable to the churches, as already in part somewhat familiar. Such a formula were the Heads of Agreement. They served well to set forth the principles which the Saybrook Synod wished to enunciate, and though incomplete without the addition of the fifteen Articles establishing Connecticut's peculiar consociational and associational system, the Heads of Agreement sweetened those Articles, softened their interpretation, and made them palatable to many who would otherwise have refused them. Approved with the rest of the Saybrook result by the General Court of the colony in October, 1708,[36] they continued a part of the legal basis of the Connecticut churches till 1784, when the Saybrook system was quietly omitted from the statutes.[37] But they remain as one of the factors which have shaped Connecticut Congregationalism.

[36] *Conn. Records*, v., 87.

[37] Dr. L. Bacon in *Contr. Eccles. Hist. Conn.*, p. 62.

The fate of this document in the land of its origin was curiously unlike that which characterized it in America. In England the Heads of Agreement proved ephemeral enough; and the permanent union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, of which they were to have been the basis, fell to pieces at the first strain, like a rope of sand. A variety of circumstances led to this melancholy breach, an account of which is preserved to us in a very readable little tract from the pen of an anonymous but contemporary Congregationalist.[38] It is evident that, in spite of the professions of a perfect understanding between the two parties with which the preface to the Heads of Agreement is filled, there was friction from the first. It was no more possible for Congregationalists and Presbyterians to work together in harmony in 1691 than in the early decades of our century in church planting in Ohio and Illinois. The Congregationalists, as the smaller faction, were perhaps the more suspicious; the Presbyterians may have been the more aggressive. But each of the nominally united parties thought it had good reason to believe that the other was taking more than was its due. To the suspicious eyes of the Congregationalists it soon began to seem as if the object of the union was to further that absorption into a liberalized Church of England which Howe and other Presbyterians ardently desired, but which Congregationalists generally opposed.[39] It seemed to them also, to use the phrase of the historian of the rupture, that "the *Presbyterian* Party [were beginning] to drive at *Jurisdiction* over other *Churches*";[40] and that "there was a Design to discountenance the *Congregational* Churches up and down the Nation."[41] Nor did this appear to the Congregationalists merely a general impression. Certain ecclesiastical changes at Sandwich and Marlborough, in which the Presbyterian party was preferred,

[38] *History of the Union between the Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers in and about London, and the Causes of the Breach of it*, already cited. The second edition was printed at London in 1698. I have never met the first edition.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 3. [40] *Ibid.*, p. 5. [41] *Ibid.*

seemed to them a positive proof of such a conspiracy.[42] On the other hand the Presbyterians were offended that the Congregationalists held separate meetings "in Reference," as the historian puts it, "to things belonging to *Congregational Churches*, which were not proper and adviseable to be debated in Conjunction with the *Presbyterian Ministers*."[43] This seemed indeed a breach of the spirit of the union, for it maintained the very distinctions which it was the object of the union to obliterate. Nor did it make matters better when the Presbyterians pointed out that such separate meetings were contrary to the promise in the preface that they would "meet and consult, without the least shadow of separate or distinct Parties,"[44] and the Congregationalists defended themselves on the plea that, though they had assented to the Heads of Agreement, they had never signed the preface in which this pledge was contained.[45] Such charges between religious parties are easily made, and such causes of grievance are readily magnified till they appear to be serious moral delinquencies.

There can be little reason to believe that, with the elements of friction which we have noticed, the union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists could, in any case, have long been maintained. Yet, though these disagreements were productive of much ill-feeling, the dispute which actually dissolved the union had curiously enough nothing to do with the distinctions of polity which the two parties represented, but, while embittered by party spirit, was purely theological, and closely connected with a contest between high and moderate Calvinism which convulsed all the Nonconformist bodies of England, and even involved some representatives of the Establishment. Dr. Tobias Crisp[46] had been an eminent Puritan under Charles I. His

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[44] *Heads of Agreement*, Preface, p. [vi].

[45] *History of the Union*, etc., p. 6.

[46] A few general remarks regarding the Crispian controversy may be found in Stoughton, *Hist. Religion in England*, v., 296–300. The contemporary controversial literature is voluminous.

Calvinism had been of the extremest type, and his insistence on the absoluteness of predestination and the completeness of imputation so exaggerated as to lead, so his opponents thought, to Antinomian results. He held, it would appear, that our Lord so took upon himself human sin as to become personally as sinful as man, and, on the other hand, all who are of the elect and believe so receive Christ's righteousness here as to become as holy as Christ. Crisp died in 1643, and the arguments which were to prove the bombshell in the united camp of Presbyterians and Congregationalists remained for nearly fifty years for the most part unpublished. But just about the time of the union they were brought to light by Crisp's son, and printed with a note signed by several prominent Nonconformist ministers attesting the genuineness of the manuscript.[47] The views of Dr. Crisp were so extreme that the work was at once answered by Dr. Daniel Williams,[48] one of the chief Presbyterians of London, a preacher of power, a moderate Calvinist, and the founder of the great Nonconformist library, which is now one of the treasure-houses of the history of Puritanism. Imitating the example of the younger Crisp, Williams procured the commendatory signatures of sixteen of the most prominent Presbyterian ministers of the day, a number which was increased on the publication of a second edition of his work to forty-nine, thus including more than half the Presbyterians in the union.[49] The Congregationalists seem to have been no more pleased with the supposed Antinomianism of Dr. Crisp than the Presbyterians; but Dr. Williams was one of the Presbyterians who had seemed to them most filled, as the historian of the quarrel puts it, with "a *prejudiced Spirit* against the Government of the Congregational Churches and the Order wherein they walk."[50] Anything from his pen must of course be suspicious, and as the

[47] I have not seen this book, but I suppose it to be *Christ Made Sin*, London, 1691.

[48] In *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, London, 1692.

[49] *Hist. of the Union*, p. 7.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Congregationalists read his reply to Crisp it appeared to them that Williams had fallen into errors no less serious than those he refuted, had voided the atonement of significance, and had attacked the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism generally. Thus it came about that a majority of the Presbyterians in the new union supported Williams, while a considerable number of Congregationalists opposed, and six of them joined in a "Paper of Exceptions," [51] which Rev. Isaac Chauncy, eldest son of President Chauncy of Harvard, and New England bred, but now a minister in London, laid before the meeting of the united ministers, October 17, 1692, and accompanied by a heated speech, in which he gave, as the historian records, "the Reasons why he look'd upon the Union to be broken, and Perverted from its right End, and therefore would be no longer a Member of it." [52] The union as a whole was not as hot-headed as Mr. Chauncy, and, in the hope of re-establishing peace, appointed a non-partisan committee of five or six of their number who had never signed Williams' publication, one of whom was Matthew Mead, to meet with "Five of the Noted Subscribers to it" [53] and with the five protesting signers of the "Paper of Exceptions" who still remained members of the union after Chauncy's withdrawal. But, as is frequent in such cases, "Many Meetings were held to little or no purpose," [54] and negotiations dragged on till December, 1694, when, to quote once more from the anonymous historian, "The *Objectors* were now Convinced, That they had Complain'd of Mr. *Williams's* Errors, to Men who would give them no Reason to think they were *Impartial*, and from this time [the] *Congregational Brethren* grew weary of the Meeting [of the union], and did in a manner wholly withdraw from it." [55] At about the same time the Presbyterian and Congregational trustees of the General

[51] This paper may be found in Chauncy's *Neomianism Unmask'd*, etc., London, 1692–3, part iii., pp. 96, 97. The exceptions are wholly doctrinal.

[52] *Hist. of the Union*, etc., pp. 7, 8.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 12. [54] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Fund fell apart into separate boards.[56] One more fruitless effort at compromise was made in March, 1696,[57] but the breach in the London union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists was irreparable. How far the country associations which had been formed on the basis of the Heads of Agreement were affected is difficult to say, but the object for which the Heads of Agreement were framed, viz., the union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in and about London, had utterly failed.

[56] See Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Appendix, p. lviii. The last joint meeting recorded was June 26, 1693; the first separate meeting of the Presbyterians was Feb. 5, 1695.

[57] *Hist. of the Union*, etc., pp. 23–25.

CHRISTIAN UNITY, OR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

CHRISTIAN UNITY, OR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

By Mr. THOMAS DAVIDSON, New York City.

No one can doubt that, if the Christian Church were one in spirit, and one in organization for work, she would fulfil her appointed mission better than she does. Indeed, since the establishment of brotherly love is a chief part of that mission, so long as that love is wanting, so long she fails in her mission. It may be safely said that no single cause so effectually obstructs Christianity within the Church, and none so prevents its acceptance outside, as the schisms and enmities whereby she is divided against herself. While she thus offers a ready text to her critics, detractors, and opponents, how can she hope to conquer the world for brotherly love?

Whatever weighty reasons there may have been in days gone by for rending to pieces the Christian body; whatever advantages may have seemed likely to spring therefrom, that rending, being an absolute belying of the Christian spirit, was, in itself, an unmixed evil. The Church that had so far lost the spirit of Christian love, as not to be ready to bear all things, believe all things, hope all things, endure all things, rather than fall to pieces, was not the Church of Christ. No corruption or abuse, however glaring, could ever constitute a sufficient excuse for schism or revolt. Schism may be allowable in every other institution: in the Church of Christ it is forever forbidden; for the reason that her very essence is the unity of brotherly love, and where that fails, she fails. As St. Ignatius says: "If any one followeth one that maketh a schism, he doth not inherit the kingdom of God." (*Philad.*, iii.)

But the schisms exist, and we are not appointed the judges of those through whom they came. We leave them to Him who said: "It must needs be that offences come; but woe to him through whom the offence cometh." What concerns us is our present and future duty with regard to these schisms. And this duty seems clear enough. It is to labor with all our might, in the spirit of self-abnegation and brotherly love, to put an end to them. This is an ineluctable duty laid upon every Christian, and more especially upon those who hold office in the Church. Perhaps no other duty presses with such imperativeness at this moment.

Never were the efforts of a united Church so sorely needed as they are now; never was disunion so enfeebling and paralyzing. In the past, on several occasions, certain teachings and claims of the Church have been disputed and combated; at present, it is her fundamental claim, the very principle of her existence and life, that is at stake. It is now openly proclaimed, and widely believed, as never before since Christianity was a power in the world, that man is born, lives, and dies like the beast; that he has no loving Father, no moral nature, no hope for eternity; that all is matter, reducible to dust and ashes. And this, too, is proclaimed and believed, not merely by men ignorant, blinded by passion, or rebellious from adversity, but also by men of learning and position, who profess to lead the intellectual and practical life of the world—men great in science and in statesmanship. Upon their teachings is being built up an ideal of individual and social life, from which every motive borrowed from divine authority and moral obligation thereto is carefully excluded, and duty is expounded in terms of getting and having, of pleasure and pain, during the brief days of the flesh. Underneath all the threatening phenomena of our present life, underneath the socialisms, anarchisms, nihilisms; underneath the all but universal demand for self-satisfaction, coarse or refined, this is the force that works. It is a force directly opposed to that which the ideal of the Church seeks to exert; and it requires no spe-

cial gift of prophecy to see that the two must soon enter upon an open conflict, which can end only with the overthrow of the one or the other.

The fundamental question which the world of to-day is trying, more or less blindly, to solve, in theory and in practice, is: Shall man henceforth live as a mortal, or as an immortal, being? Shall he shape his action with reference to time only, or also for eternity? As applied to institutions, this translates itself into the question: Shall the State, whose function it is to regulate the claims of distinct selves to the things of time, be the supreme institution, and the Church disappear from the face of the earth, or shall the Church continue to grow and spread, taking hold of the self at the point where the State leaves it, and raising it to a divine consciousness, transcending self and time?

The right of the Church to exist is the question of the day. The answer to it will depend, in the main, upon the Church herself, and her fidelity to her divine ideal and mission. If she turn away from her Lord, if she become worldly, if she be found rent by schisms and enmities, and emptied of that God-consciousness which expresses itself in Faith, Hope, and Love, then we may rest assured that she will be treated, as her forerunner, the Hebrew nation, was treated of old, when guilty of a like disloyalty. She will be carried away captive among the nations; she will disappear in the dark places of worldliness, and it will be due to some Isaiah, whose lips are touched with a live coal from the altar, if even a "remnant" of her is left to rebuild Jerusalem.

In preparing for the struggle that awaits her, the first thing that the Church requires is unity. Her lost unity must be restored. In inquiring how this is to be accomplished, there are three things which we must consider: (1) the nature of the unity which properly belongs to the Church; (2) the causes which destroyed that unity; and (3) the possible means for the removal of those causes. Only if we can make these clear to ourselves, shall we be in a position to offer some practical suggestions for the restoration of Christian unity.

I.—THE NATURE OF CHURCH UNITY.

It is often said that unity is strength. This, however, is not universally true. All depends upon the nature of the unity. In order to be a source of strength, the unity of any thing, or any institution, must be one constituted by that which is its inmost essence. Any other unity may be, and often is, a source of weakness. A nation held together by an iron despotism is a feeble nation, because the only true principle of national unity is the patriotism of the citizens. Great despot-ruled Persia was powerless in the face of small patriotic Greece. In asking, then, what is the nature of the unity that properly belongs to the Church, we are virtually asking what is the inmost essence of the Church.

It is strange enough that in this nineteenth century there should be any doubt on this matter. Yet such is the fact, and it is a fact that contributes greatly to prevent any concentrated effort toward Christian union. Some look upon the Church as an institution for the promotion of morality, others as a means of escape from eternal perdition, others as a union for philanthropic purposes, and so on. It would be vain to hope for unity amid such divergent views. In endeavoring to state which is the essence and unitary principle of the Church, I shall not have recourse to any *a priori* or subjective considerations, but simply inquire what kind of unity the founder of Christianity sought to realize in it. If the Church be, as she professes, the embodiment of his will and spirit, then this must be the only correct method of discovering her essence. What, then, is the nature of the unity that Christ contemplated for his Church?

Before attempting to answer this, I must say one word about the term "Church" (Greek ἐκκλησία, Hebrew קָהָל). It is a term rarely used by Christ.[1] His standing designation for the institution which he came to establish is the "Kingdom of Heaven," or the "Kingdom of God."[2] We

[1] It occurs only twice in the gospels, and both times in Matthew—xvi., 18; xviii., 17.

[2] "Kingdom of Heaven" occurs only in Matthew, who uses it very often. He uses likewise "Kingdom of God," which is the ordinary expression in the rest of the New Testament.

are told that, even after his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples for forty days "speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God." As I am inclined to believe that the use of the term "Church," to designate the Christian institution, tends to obliterate its true character, I shall, for the most part, drop it, and speak of the Kingdom of Heaven. What kind of unity, then, did Christ contemplate for his Kingdom of Heaven?

It would be comparatively easy, by comparing a number of Christ's sayings gathered from the different gospels, to answer this question in a formal way. But by so doing, I should leave the institution of Christ as something standing by itself, isolated from the course of history. Now, inasmuch as it is especially important, in the present condition of thought, to avoid this, and, by anticipation, to rebut the charge that Christianity is an unnatural intruder into the orderly course of evolution, I shall endeavor to show that what Christ contemplated, so far from being isolated and unnatural, was the true and necessary consummation of evolution, as properly conceived. Whether or not it is to be called supernatural, will depend altogether upon our definition of the natural.

The modern theory of evolution, which has taken the thought of our time, as it were, by surprise, does not essentially differ from the older theories on the same subject,[3] except in this, that it is usually connected with a mechanical theory of action and life. This is a mere accident, due to the fact that the theory at first sought confirmation in departments of nature in which mechanical action mainly prevails, viz., in the physical structure of plants and animals. It is now turning to departments characterized by other forms of action—to psychology, ethics, politics, sociology, and even religion,—and, in so doing, is causing grave apprehensions in the minds of many thoughtful and pious men, lest these too should be shown to be

[3] Theories of evolution are nothing new. We find them in the Hymns of the Veda, in the Ionic philosophers, in Æschylus, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius; in the Neo-Platonists, in the Arab Aristotelians, in the *Liber de Causis et Processu Unius*, in Nicholas Cusanus, etc., etc.

governed by mechanical laws. For this apprehension the pardonable materialism of the majority of evolutionists is chiefly to blame; but, after all, it is entirely groundless; for the further we extend the sphere of evolution, the more clearly shall we see that it cannot be explained by any merely mechanical forces, but that it demands, as its source, a conscious mind and a righteous will, and, as its consummation and crown, a Kingdom of Heaven, in which that will is done. It is only because we try to confine evolution to the region of mechanics that it remains mechanical. Extend it to the region of spirit, and it will soon become spiritual, just as ancient philosophy did in its progress from Thales to Aristotle.[4] Indeed, evolution will never attain its full significance until, casting aside its mechanical connections, it proclaim itself to be what it really is, the method of the divine activity—of the divine thought or λόγος, manifesting itself in space and time, in nature and grace. When it has rid itself of Hegel on the one hand, and Spencer on the other, it will find that Christ's Kingdom of Heaven is only the last phase of the divine plan with reference to humanity; as Dante says: "Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio." Nay, more than this: as the doctrine of evolution will never show its true character and meaning until illuminated by the light of the Kingdom of Heaven, so that kingdom will never be seen in its true character until it is beheld as the consummation of evolution, as the

> "one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves."[5]

Let us, then, turn the light of the theory of evolution upon the inner world, the world of consciousness, and see

[4] See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, i., 3 *sqq*.

[5] Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, closing words. It appears to me that the future of the Christian religion will depend upon whether it can succeed in grafting itself upon the theory of evolution, and in showing itself to contain the meaning and aim of all development. If it does not, in fact, contain these, it is no finality, and must give place to something higher and truer; if it does contain them, it must, sooner or later, assert this. Nor need it fear the result.

what it reveals to us there. Beginning at its lower end, we find what we may call simply consciousness, which, in different degrees of intensity and comprehensiveness, belongs to the whole brute creation. All animals, as such, are apparently conscious of successive states of feeling, rising from mere sensation up to perception. Next above this comes self-consciousness, the exclusive property, it seems, of man, who is aware, not only of a succession of states, but also of himself as the permanent subject of these states, and of a world of things as the permanent cause of them. Before proceeding further, let us consider these two grades.

A being conscious merely of states, without any underlying self, cannot, of course, make any conscious provision for that self. Its actions, therefore, will be guided entirely by instinct, whose manifestations, however like those of prudence, are in reality fundamentally different. Such is the animal. Man, on the contrary, being conscious of self, naturally makes self the guide of his actions. He is, in

Christianity has been forced, so to speak, before now, to graft itself upon a prevailing philosophy, and has greatly gained by so doing. In the thirteenth century, for example, the Church, after doing her best to put down the philosophy of Aristotle, which the Arabs had made popular in the West, was compelled to make terms with it, and finally adopted it so far as to recast her whole dogmatic system in the light of it. In this way she turned Aristotelianism, from being an enemy, into the most powerful auxiliary, making possible the magnificent theology of Thomas Aquinas and the greatest of Christian poems. I am persuaded that an equally splendid result would follow, if the Church, instead of opposing evolution, should heartily adopt it, and claim that her ideal is precisely what it all tends to. True Christianity must be able to absorb all future true philosophies, just as it has absorbed all past ones. In a recent Roman Catholic work we read: "In pre-Christian times, Socratic philosophy attained a high degree of perfection, and became the foundation upon which Christian philosophy was built. The Fathers recognized in this fact the Hand of God preparing the way for the science of the Gospel. By Socratic philosophy, we mean the due combination of its two forms, Platonic and Aristotelian. These too correct and supplement each other, and should not be separated. Christian philosophy blends them together, although it has sometimes given more prominence to one than to the other" (*A Manual of Catholic Theology.* Based on Scheeben's *Dogmatik.* By Joseph Wilhelm, D.D., Ph. D., and Thomas Scannell, B.D. With a Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London, Kegan Paul, 1890, p. 149).

fact, essentially selfish, selfishness being the necessary correlate of self-consciousness. This selfishness may, indeed, assume a variety of forms, from the coarsest and most heartless self-indulgence, to the most refined prudence, worldly or other-worldly. It is this selfishness, in its various grades, that finds expression in the different social and political institutions in which men unite for mutual help. The aims of even the highest of these, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are all purely selfish. The State exists for no other purpose but to secure to each individual self all possible satisfaction compatible with safety. Civic laws are rules for balancing the claims of opposing selves. Such is the kingdom of this world. If we examine the ancient world, prior to Christ, we shall find that it is almost entirely governed by the principle of self, in one form or another. In that world, with its four cardinal virtues, the great man was he who was master of all.

Let us now pass on to that kingdom which Jesus came to establish, and which he placed in such direct opposition to the kingdom of this world, viz., the Kingdom of Heaven, and let us inquire what is the essential principle that holds, or is expected to hold, it together. In order to do this, we must have recourse, first of all, to his own words, and they are, many of them, explicit enough. "I and the father are one" (John x., 30). "Yet a little while and the world beholdeth me no more; but ye behold me, because I live and ye shall live. In that day ye shall know that I am in my father, and ye in me, and I in you" (John xiv., 19, 20). "They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Consecrate them in the truth: thy word is truth. . . . Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also who believe on me through their word; that they may be all one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one" (John xvii., 16, 17,

21–23). It would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect; but these, I think, suffice to show that the essence, the bond of union, of the Kingdom of Heaven was meant to be a God-consciousness, a consciousness of God as the cause of our being, the ground of our knowing, and the rule of our action, a consciousness that, deeper than that which divides us and opposes us to each other, is that which unites us and reconciles us through love.

Though this God-consciousness came into the world in its fulness in the person of Jesus, the first dim intimations of it date far back in the history of mankind—how far we cannot tell. It shows itself clearly enough in the Gâthâs, or Psalms of Zoroaster (B.C. 1100?), and in the Old Testament almost from the beginning, Ere the days of the great prophets it has received a name, the "Word of the Lord," a Word which "comes" to the prophets, and which they "see." Through them, in divers fragments and ways (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως), it appeals to the Jewish people, so that, after the bitter lesson of exile, they form themselves into a church, a theocracy, something quite different from the old Jewish kingdom. This theocracy, amid infinite difficulties, grows, and prepares the way for the full manifestation of the Word of God. At last that Word becomes flesh, and dwells among men. To Jesus the Word does not come in rare moments, with messages for particular occasions. He *is* the Word, and speaks for all eternity. Well might he say: "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away." No momentary, fleeting God-consciousness is His. He is continually aware that he is one with the Father, that he is the "son of the living God." And when Peter first enters into this consciousness far enough to recognize him as such, Jesus says: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee that thou art Rock, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth

shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi., 17–19). In the man with the God-consciousness, feeble though it was, Jesus recognized the foundation-rock of his new institution, the man fit to be entrusted with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. What, indeed, is the key to the Kingdom of Heaven, but this very God-consciousness? He who possesses that, binds and looses in heaven, when he binds and looses on earth. He leads a double life. He walks on earth; but his "commonwealth is in heaven" (Phil. iii., 20).

It is only when we begin to realize the nature of the unity of the Kingdom of Heaven that we can grasp the meaning of the two most comprehensive injunctions that Christ laid upon his disciples, (1) that referring to love, and (2) that referring to prayer, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind. . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matt. xxii., 37–39). Is not this double love the very God-consciousness, upon which the Kingdom of Heaven is built? "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth" (Matt. vi., 10). What is this but a prayer for the manifestation of the God-consciousness, of the Kingdom of Heaven?

It would be easy to follow, down through the Apostles and Apostolic Fathers, the clear conviction that the essential unity of the Kingdom of Heaven lies in a God-consciousness, mediated through Jesus. St. Paul, for example, says of himself: "It is no longer I that live; but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii., 20). And what are his three Christian graces but aspects or, rather, grades of God-consciousness? How entirely different from the "cardinal virtues" of paganism! How unintelligible to the citizen of the kingdom of this world! Even the least of these graces is defined as "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Heb. xi., 1), words which the greatest of theologians paraphrases thus: "Faith is the habit of mind whereby eternal life is begun in us, making the intellect assent to

things that do not appear."[6] And who can forget St. Paul's splendid pæan to the greatest of them, to Love! In this he shows how the God-consciousness, though it may here manifest itself in questionable shape, like the forms in a wizard's mirror, nevertheless suffices to make life divine.

But there is throughout the New Testament a special name for the God-consciousness as manifested in men, as well as for the men in whom it is manifested. The former is the "Holy Spirit," the latter are the Holy Ones, or "Saints." Throughout the New Testament the members of Christ's Kingdom of Heaven are spoken of as saints, and as being endowed with the Holy Spirit. It is just the possession of the Holy Spirit, or God-consciousness, that makes men members of that kingdom. St. Paul says distinctly that "the Kingdom of God is . . . righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom. xiv., 17); and he asks the Corinthians: "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, which is in you, which ye have from God?" (1 Cor. vi., 19). Frequently also he closes his letters with the request, "Salute every saint in Christ Jesus," adding, "All the saints salute you." It would be easy to multiply quotations, proving that in the Apostolic age the unifying power of the Kingdom of Heaven was God-consciousness, the presence of the Holy Spirit.

The same was true, in great measure, in the age of the Apostolic Fathers. St. Clement of Rome, writing to the Corinthian Church about the year 100 A.D., describes its condition a short time before, in these words:

"Ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming submission, and content with the provisions which God supplieth. And giving heed to His words, ye laid them up diligently in your hearts, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and rich peace was given unto all, and an insatiable desire of doing good. *An abundant outpouring also of the Holy Spirit fell upon all;* and, being full of holy counsel, in excellent zeal and with pious confidence ye stretched out your hands to Almighty God, supplicating Him to be propitious if unwillingly ye had

[6] Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, II², 4, 1.

committed any sin. Ye had conflict day and night for all the brotherhood, that the number of His elect might be saved, with fearfulness and intentness of mind. Ye were sincere and simple and free from malice one toward another. Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbors: *ye judged their shortcomings to be your own.* Ye repented not of any well-doing, but were ready unto every good work. Being adorned with a most virtuous and honorable life, ye performed all your duties in the fear of Him. The commandments and the ordinances of the Lord were written on the tables of your hearts."[7]

Here we see clearly, not only what constituted the unity of the Kingdom of Heaven, but also what were the results of that unity in the outward life and conversation. "Ye judged their shortcomings to be your own." These simple words tell the whole story. The unity wrought by the presence of the Holy Spirit was such that each member of the kingdom felt his brother's frailties as his own. That is the Christian spirit.

In the inimitable *Epistle to Diognetus*, written probably about A.D. 150, we read:

"Marvel not that a man can be an imitator of God. He can, if God willeth it. For happiness consisteth not in lordship over one's neighbors, nor in desiring to have more than weaker men, nor in possessing wealth and using force to superiors; neither can any one imitate God in these matters; nay, these lie outside His greatness. But whosoever taketh upon himself the burden of his neighbor, whosoever desireth to benefit one that is worse off in that in which he himself is superior, whosoever by supplying to those that are in want possessions which he received from God, becomes a god to those who receive them from him; he is an imitator of God. Then, though thou art placed on earth, thou shalt behold that God maketh commonwealth in heaven; then shalt thou begin to declare the mysteries of God."[8]

Here we see that the unity wrought by the Holy Spirit, not only made men act like God, but also revealed to

[7] Clement, *Epist. to the Corinthians*, ii.

[8] *Epist. to Diognetus*, x.

them the mysteries of God, manifested in them a divine consciousness. To know, to love, to act as God, and in God, that is the Kingdom of Heaven which Christ came to establish, and of which he was the first citizen.

I have dwelt at some length upon this question of the nature of the unity of the Kingdom of Heaven, because I could see no other way of discovering the kind of unity which the Church ought to strive for. The Kingdom of Heaven, then, is held together by a God-consciousness, revealing to men the mysteries of God, prompting them to love God with their whole being, and their neighbors as themselves, and to lose themselves in an absorbing passion for doing His will. We may now ask: What outward organization will the members of the Kingdom of Heaven adopt in order to recruit citizens for that kingdom? in other words, what will be the form of the Church? Will it be Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Papacy, Methodism, Quakerism, or what?

If we have understood the nature of the Kingdom of Heaven, we shall have no difficulty in answering this question. We shall say: The spirit that animates the Kingdom of Heaven is bound to no one form of organization; but whatever form pure love to God and man may at any time suggest, that is, for that time and place, the appropriate outward form of the Kingdom of Heaven. Every form suggested by aught else is spurious. There is probably not one among the forms mentioned but has had, or has, its justification. If it be said that we ought to be guided by the example of the Apostles and early Christians, we may reply: Their example is valid for us in so far as, in organizing themselves for the work of the Kingdom of Heaven, they were guided by the Holy Spirit, which takes account of times and places; not one step further. Other times and other places demand other forms, and these the Holy Spirit is ever ready to suggest.

By thus making a clear distinction between the Kingdom of Heaven and the Church, we are enabled to see how, while the former can never lose its unity, the latter may

very well consist of numerous parts, differently organized to suit different circumstances. These parts must, of course, all be animated by the same spirit, and work toward the same end; but they need not have any other common bond. This common spirit and aim will suffice to make them love and work in harmony and brotherly love. We must, indeed, confess that this harmony and this love have rarely, if ever, embraced the entire Church; and this brings us to our second consideration.

II.—THE CAUSES WHICH DESTROYED THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

The true unity of the Church is unity of spirit. This spirit is the Holy Spirit, the God-consciousness, expressing itself in Faith, Hope, and Love, to the complete discomfiture of self and all its manifestations. We may express this otherwise by saying that the Church finds its ideal unity in the Kingdom of Heaven, which it seeks to realize by bringing all men under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

If, now, we look back upon the history of the Church, we shall readily see, I think, that the cause of her disruption has been the presence in her of a spirit directly opposed to the Holy Spirit. This is none other than the "prince of this world," the spirit of worldliness, working for worldly ends, which has expressed itself chiefly in three forms, the opposites of Faith, Hope, and Love, viz., Rationalism, Materialism, and Selfishness. Let us consider these in their order.

Rationalism is the earthly counterpart of the heavenly faith. Faith is that faculty of the Holy Spirit whereby the invisible world, the Kingdom of Heaven, is founded and realized in us, whereby the individual soul is brought into the communion of the saints and animated with the life of God. In that world, reason is absolutely powerless and blind, just as sense is in the world of reason. The world of reason is a world of forms or objective concepts; the world of faith is a world of subjects. As we advance in the former, we *know* more; as we advance in the latter,

we *are* more. St. Paul expresses the difference very clearly, when he says: "We walk by faith, and not by form" (εἴδει, concept). Now, when reason tried to perform the function of faith, and to intrude its forms into the Kingdom of Heaven, these came back to it as empty phantoms or idols (εἴδωλα); and, when it tried to fix these in permanent forms of speech, it created dogmas and creeds, which have been one fertile source of schism and unbrotherliness in the Church. But it will be said that dogmas and creeds were a necessity, in order to hold the Church together. The answer is, that they were a necessity only when the Church had lost her true bond of union, the Holy Spirit, manifesting itself as Faith, Hope, and Love. Again it will be replied: Granting that the true unity of the Church is the Holy Spirit, she still required certain common definite beliefs, which had to be formulated, and thus came to be dogmas. I think Jesus fully anticipated this objection when he said: "My teaching is not mine, but his that sent me. If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God" (John vii., 16, 17). This means clearly that, if any man be possessed with the Holy Spirit, he will require no dogmas either for himself or for others. He will know and teach by living. This, it seems to me, was the very essential characteristic of the Christian position. Christians lived by faith from within, not by knowledge from without. Their knowledge was personal experience of the Holy Spirit, and they needed no other. What creed they had was summed up in the declaration of St. Peter: "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God" (Matt. xvi., 16),—a creed which Jesus declared had been imparted by a direct divine revelation, and which he made the foundation-rock of his Church. Had the Christians contented themselves with this creed, and lived the life of the Holy Spirit, they would never, we may be assured, have been rent by schisms. If we study the history of the Church in the early centuries, we shall see that all the divisions in her were due to attempts to enlarge and define this creed, and that these attempts on the part of the

reason marked a gradual decline of the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, of faith, and of the divine life of the Church.

But along with the decay of faith, and the growth of creed-making rationalism, went a decay of hope and a growth of materialism. Hope is that imperfect, anticipatory enjoyment of the spiritual things of the Kingdom of Heaven which is possible in this life. The heart that is filled with this hope cares but little for the things of this world, using them merely as means, never as ends. So long as this hope was a living thing among the Christians, they regarded the property of each as the property of all, and exercised the largest hospitality and charity. Recognizing that it is more blessed to give than to receive, to serve than to be served, they considered it a privilege to be able to help those that were more needy than themselves. For a time they even went so far as to practise communism, but soon abandoned it, no doubt for good reasons. This disregard of worldly goods followed naturally from the conviction that for every saint there was treasure laid up in heaven,—treasure which could be neither corrupted, devoured, nor stolen. But no sooner did this conviction, which was the work of the Holy Spirit, begin to fade away, than the things of the world began to resume their importance, and the question of property to divide brother from brother. And not only the question of property, but also those of honor and position. Service, which was the title to honor in the Kingdom of Heaven, gave place to mastership, the title prevailing in the kingdom of this world. In fact, the Church gradually became worldly, and worldliness is the deadly foe of the Holy Spirit. "Friendship with the world is enmity with God" (James iv., 4). When, finally, the Church was united to the empire, and posts in the Church were accompanied with worldly emoluments and dignities, the process was complete, and Antichrist had triumphed.

When Faith and Hope gave way to Rationalism and Materialism, it was no wonder that Love was replaced by Selfishness. The Love inspired by the Holy Spirit is a sense of the unity of all men with each other and with God in

the Holy Spirit. It is redemption and blessedness. In this world it takes, for the most part, the form of love for one's fellow-men, a love which involves complete and unquestioning self-sacrifice. It is the love which makes martyrs. So long as it was alive in the Church, and men regarded not their own lives, if they could but bring their brethren under the influence of the Holy Spirit, she was irresistible. Imperial Rome fought with her in vain. But the day came when this love died out, and its place was taken by the spirit of selfishness, which revealed itself as pride, envy, hatred, and wrath, setting man against man, sect against sect, and church against church, until what was intended to be a Kingdom of Heaven became more like a kingdom of hell. There can hardly be any doubt that the Church would have gone to pieces in the fourth century, had it not been held together and crystallized through its connection with the Empire, which suppressed heresy by main force.

If we follow the divisions that have taken place in the Church since then, we shall easily see that they have all arisen from the three causes which I have enumerated,—from Rationalism, Materialism, and Selfishness, in one word, from the withdrawal of the Holy Spirit, which is its life.

The first great schism in the Christian body was that between the Greek and Latin churches. That this was due to rationalism, attempting to define dogma, to a conflict for worldly superiority, and to a lamentable want of charity, there can be no question. In the end the difficulties clustered round a single question—the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Franks had compelled the Latin Church to erect the double procession into a dogma, and the Greek Church refused to follow her. The contention regarding this matter lasted for several hundred years, and finally broke the Church into two parts, each of which goes its own way, and regards the other as heretical.

The second great schism was that due to the Protestant Reformation. It is not necessary to say what party or parties were to blame for this. That it was due to the causes named, and to none other, is only too obvious.

When it was over, the Christian Church was broken up into three great divisions—the Greek Church, the Roman Church, and the Protestant Church; and the last again into three subdivisions—the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Anglican; and these again into a number of smaller sects. Of all these parts the only one that maintained itself in complete independence of the civil power was the Roman Church. Indeed, one of the worst effects of schism in the Church has at all times been, that the schismatic fragments have fallen under the control of the State, and become worldly. Here, as everywhere, disunion has been weakness. It was disunion that brought the whole Church under the control of the Empire in the fourth century; it was disunion that brought the Greek and Protestant churches under the control of the State in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Owing to a lucky combination of circumstances and the energy of a few good popes, the whole Church was enabled to reassert its independence previous to the great schisms; but no sooner did these take place than the separated parts again fell back into a state of bondage. It is to a rebellion against this bondage that many of the smaller sects in the Greek, Reformed, and Anglican churches owe their existence. Only in America does there exist an entire separation between Church and State.

III.—THE POSSIBLE MEANS FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE DESTROYED CHURCH UNITY.

Before proceeding to consider these means, we shall perhaps do well to cast a glance at the comparative size of the different divisions of the Church. According to the latest statistics, the Christian Church numbers 429,391,500 adherents. Of these, about 215,938,500 belong to the Roman Church; about 130,329,000 to the Protestant, and about 84,017,000 to the Greek, while some 9,000,000 belong to Asiatic and African churches not included in the great divisions. If we omit the last, we find that fully one half of Christendom belongs to the Roman communion,

while of the other half, three fifths are Protestant, and two fifths Greek. We may add that about two thirds of the human race still stand outside of the Christian Church, while of the third which stands inside, a very large proportion is only nominally Christian.

These simple facts suggest two important reflections, *e.g.*, *first*, that the christianization of the world has hardly done more than made a good beginning; and, *second*, that any attempt to reunite the fragments of the Church has to reckon, above all, with the Roman division. Let all the other parts unite without this, and half of Christendom will still be outside the union. Nay, more, the part outside will be just the one that can most fairly claim to be the trunk of the Church, the others being severed branches; so that, even if these should unite, they would be but an assemblage of branches without a trunk. It is to the sense of this fact that the Roman Church owes that feeling of security and superiority which enables her to say virtually to the other churches: "I am the Church; ye are rebellious children." No other church can do the same. The Greek Church may indeed claim an antiquity equal to that of the Roman, and Protestant sects may claim that their Christianity comes nearer to the primitive type than that of either; but all this is nothing to the point, unless it can be shown that the beliefs and organization of the Church were intended to be exempt from the otherwise universal law of development. And this cannot be shown. On the contrary, if the Holy Spirit be really present in the Church, we must expect that she will be led from truth to truth, and to ever more perfect forms of organization—that is, to an ever more perfect unity.

It is obvious where these reflections lead us—to this namely: The union of Christendom, if it is ever to be accomplished, must, in the last resort, mean the return of all the severed churches to the Roman communion. How this is to be brought about is, therefore, the question before us. I am aware that the bare notion of such a return is still shocking to a great many people; so shocking, indeed, that

they will not even consider it for a moment. But the number of these is now not so great, proportionally, as it once was, and it is yearly diminishing. And it must diminish in proportion as the different sections of the Church come to understand each other and to realize what Christianity essentially is and demands. In fact, the two prime conditions for the restoration of Christian unity are (1) the growth of mutual understanding between the sundered parts of the Church, and (2) a true comprehension of Christianity. And these will and must, necessarily, go hand in hand.

As to the former of these conditions: While the different sections of the Protestant Church are visibly coming into closer sympathy, and in many cases openly demanding corporate unity (a most encouraging symptom!), there still exists between the three great divisions of the Church an amount of misunderstanding and uncharitableness that is truly surprising, and almost inexcusable. Not only does each consider the others heretical (which is intelligible enough), but each is wont to accuse the others of bad faith, and not seldom of immorality. If the recent attacks by Roman Catholics upon the private character of Luther show what blindness and rancor still linger on that side, the wholesale charges levelled by Protestants at the Roman Church are equally discreditable. Mr. Gore, the principal of the Pusey House in Oxford, a very pious and able man, representing a considerable section of the Anglican Church, permits himself to say that "the whole of modern Roman literature has become saturated with a spirit of unfaithfulness to history and to fact," and many similar things equally unfair and uncharitable. And within a few days I have heard a very cultivated and liberal Protestant declare that "Roman Catholicism is an immoral religion." It is needless to say that, while this spirit continues, no Christian unity is possible. The Holy Spirit will not dwell with uncharity.

I am convinced that much of the alienation prevailing between the sections of the Church is due to absolute ignorance, which, again, comes from the failure on the part of

each to study the others' position. Let me cite a striking example of such failure. The philosophy of the Roman Church is scholasticism, and especially the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas. Now, in all the Protestant universities of Germany there is not offered, at the present day, a single course in scholasticism,[9] and I am inclined to believe that the same thing is true of American universities, and even of theological seminaries. The truth is, that Protestant theologians, as a rule, know little or nothing of Catholic philosophy and theology. While this condition of things lasts, it is vain to expect that the Roman and Protestant churches will ever come to a mutual understanding. It is but fair to say that Roman Catholics know much more about Protestant philosophy than Protestants know about Roman Catholic philosophy.

As to the second condition of Church unity—a true and ever deepening comprehension of Christianity—we have good reason for hope. This comprehension demands the whole human being, head, heart, and will, especially the last. As to head-comprehension, it seems to me that this is being greatly advanced by modern criticism and research, which, while they are clearing away many old beliefs, are thereby only bringing out into clearer relief the majesty and unity of the divine plan, and connecting it with the whole course of evolution, as its spirit and consummation. We are slowly coming to see that the history of nature finds its meaning only in the history of grace, the individualism of civil society only in the unity of the Church, animated by the Holy Spirit. And alongside this head-comprehension of Christianity goes a certain amount of heart-comprehension, in the form of humanity and charity. This charity, to be sure, is, to a very large extent, formal and material, rarely rising to the Christian standard; but it is a promise of better things, of the true love or charity of which St. Paul speaks: "If I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burnt, but have not love, it profiteth

[9] See an article on *The Present Condition of German Universities*, in the first number of *The Educational Review*, pp. 28 *sqq.*

me nothing." We are very far from any such attitude as this, so far, indeed, that we can hardly comprehend it, or even sympathize with it; but, after all, the giving of our goods for love's sake is the first step toward giving our bodies, and, finally, our souls. Before we can do this, we must rise to a will-comprehension of Christianity, of all things the most difficult and the most rare. Christianity, as I have said, is primarily and specially addressed to the will. It finds its chief and full realization in the manifestations of the will—Faith, Hope, and Love. It is through these that the Kingdom of Heaven is realized. Only the man who can say in every thought, word, and deed: "Not my will, but thine be done," fully comprehends the meaning of Christianity, or enters, as a saint, into the Kingdom of Heaven.

From what has been said, we may draw, I think, this conclusion: The different sections of the Church will never unite until they learn mutually to understand and sympathize with each other, and they can never do this except on the basis of a clear comprehension, with head, heart, and will, of what Christianity is; in other words, until they are made one by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately, this conclusion is merely formal, and leaves unanswered the all-important practical question: "How shall the churches be made to comprehend the meaning of Christianity, with head, heart, and will? But even this question does not seem to me difficult to answer. I should say: "Through organizations for Christian study, and organizations for Christian work." The first will instruct the head; the second will train the heart and the will. I believe the establishment of such organizations will be the first important step toward Christian unity. And this leads me to consider for a moment the nature of the efforts that have been made in the past to restore Christian unity. I need not repeat the history of these efforts. It is sufficient to know that their aim was to bring about unity on a basis of common dogma or belief. Now, I believe that this was an exact inversion of the true mode of procedure, and that all future efforts must set out from the other end, aiming

first at a unity for study and work, and trusting that this will ultimately lead, as surely it must lead, to a unity of belief. "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God." All Christian belief, worthy of the name, must rest on a basis of Christian action, guided by Christian knowledge and Christian experience.

The first step, then, toward restoring Christian unity will be the establishment of super-denominational schools for Christian study. Such schools ought to flourish in every city, town, and village, and to command the co-operation of all scholars thoroughly versed in Christian doctrine and history, and in the results of recent discoveries and criticisms. These must not content themselves with any mere catechism or homily instruction, but must treat Christianity profoundly, as the most momentous fact in history. The Old Testament, the New Testament, the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, of the Church Fathers, of the Schoolmen, of the Mystics, of the Reformers, of the Protestant divines, of the modern Roman Catholic theologians, of the founders of sects, and even of heretics, must be carefully studied in their proper connection, and in the light of history. We can know what Christianity is, only by knowing what it has been. Indeed, in a very profound sense, Christianity is a history.

It is encouraging to observe that in recent years considerable advance has been made toward a thorough and general study of Christianity, with the result that religion is yearly claiming a larger and larger share of public attention, and is even coming to compete with base-ball and horse-racing for space in our daily newspapers. But there is still much left for those who are in earnest about Christian unity to do.

The second step toward Christian union will be the establishment of super-denominational organizations for Christian work, perhaps in connection with the schools for Christian study. By Christian work I do not mean merely charity in the modern beggarly sense, but all work whose aim is man's spiritual welfare, whether here or hereafter. All such work

is Christian work, and friendly co-operation in such work is eminently Christian. A first step toward such organization we find in the "Associated Charities" of some of our great cities. These are certainly excellent, as far as they go, but their scope is too narrow, and cripples them even within the limits which they set themselves. They offer too restricted a field for the training of heart and will to Christian perfection. What we need is a complex of organizations, having for its aim the realization of the Christian ideal of life, with its piety, its simplicity, its purity, its unworldliness, its power of self-sacrifice, its patience, its faith, its hope, its love. I believe there is nothing so necessary at this moment, nothing that would be productive of such extensive good, as the establishment of such organizations; and I see no reason why any section of the Christian Church, whatever its creed, should refuse to take part in them. It would not, I believe, be difficult ro draw up for such an organization a programme to which no body of Christians could object on conscientious grounds.

Were these two institutions established and successfully carried on, they could hardly fail, it seems to me, to lead ultimately to the restoration of Christian unity. Indeed, I cannot imagine such unity being reached in any other way. A mere formal unity of creed, resting upon no profound Christian knowledge and no Christian ideal of life, would be utterly formal and hypocritical. On the contrary, let men and women study Christianity together, and pursue together the Christian type of life, and they must of necessity come at last to see the object of their study and of their endeavor in the same light. Their community in knowledge and in aim will enable them to understand each other, will bring them into spiritual sympathy with each other, and will dispose their hearts in such a way that the Holy Spirit will descend into them and guide them into all truth, and into the Kingdom of Heaven, wherein alone is complete Christian unity.

THE BULLS DISTRIBUTING AMERICA

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When Columbus anchored in the Tagus River, March 5, 1493, he precipitated on Europe one of the most difficult questions with which the mind of man has ever grappled. It was this: By what title should the New World be held? The Catholic sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella determined to hold what their Admiral had discovered. But the Spanish lawyers found great difficulty in proving their title under the Roman law, which alone would be accepted as conclusive by the other powers, because it did not recognize the right of discovery.[1] The Roman law recognized the acquisition of property through the operation of either the *jus gentium* or the *jus civile*.[2] Under the *jus gentium*, which alone was applicable in this case, property could be acquired: 1st, by occupation, *occupatio;* 2d, by natural increase, as land formed by seas or rivers, *accessio;* 3d, by transfer, *traditio*. The only doctrine suitable to the purposes of Spain was that of "occupation," which some eminent Roman lawyers incorporated not in the *jus gentium* but in the *jus naturæ*, as affirming a natural right.[3]

The doctrine was that every "thing" had or should have an owner. Therefore a *res nullius* belonged to the first man who found it. But when the publicists attempted to apply a principle intended to give title to a lost piece of money or jewel to the acquisition of a continent, they could not

[1] Kent, *Commentaries*, iii., 492.
[2] Phillimore, *International Law*, i., 240.
[3] Maine, *Ancient Law*, 3d Amer. ed., 219, 241.

satisfy themselves that such an expansion would be accepted by the other powers. International law, then as now, recognized only three ways of acquiring title to a country[1]: 1st, by occupation; 2d, by treaty and convention; 3d, by conquest. As only by a stretch of imagination could they claim a continent from the occupation and conquest of parts of a few islands on its eastern coast, they turned to the canon law, then an integral part of the jurisprudence of Christendom, to strengthen the claim already advanced under the *jus gentium.*

I shall only dwell upon so much of the canon law as bears upon the right of the Roman See to deed countries to sovereign princes. As a result of a series of deliverances, of which the most important were the bull *In Cœna Domini*, of disputed date, and the following decretals, that of Innocent III., A.D. 1202, called *Venerabilene;* those of Boniface VIII., 1302, beginning "Ausculta Fili" and "Unam sanctam"; that of Clement V., 1311, the first words of which are "Romani Principes," and that of John XXII., 1322, known as *De Consuetudine*, the right of the Roman See was so generally admitted that the distinguished Portuguese canon lawyer of the early part of the seventeenth century, Barbosa, held that the donations made by the Supreme Pontiff to Spain and Portugal were entirely legitimate acts of Roman supremacy.[2]

The canon law was so clear on the right of the Roman See in such cases that in 1344, when the Canaries were rediscovered, Clement VI. conferred the sovereignty of those islands upon Don Luis de la Cerda, Count of Clermont, great-grandson of Don Alonzo the Wise, of Castile. When the great Prince Henry of Portugal was prosecuting his maritime enterprises, in response to appeals made to Rome, Martin IV. in 1441 granted to Portugal all the infidel countries their ships should discover and conquer from Cape Bojador to the Indies; and January 8, 1454, Nicholas V. granted the empire of Guinea to Portugal, and forbade all other nations to prosecute conquests in that country. It

[1] Grotius, l. ii., c. ix., sec. 11, p. 228.

[2] Phillimore, *International Law*, ii., 325.

will be seen, then, that while the doctrines of international law were not explicit as to the means of securing title to America, the canon law then in force everywhere in Europe vested the title of all the world in the Sacred Chair; and that furthermore the custom of both Spain and Portugal, as determined in the cases of the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the coast of Africa, was to fortify their positions by securing deeds to newly discovered territory from the representative of Peter. The Catholic world had accepted the position taken by Gregory VII. in his bull excommunicating Henry IV.: "Come now, I pray you, O most mighty princes (Ss. Peter and Paul), that all the world may know that if you are able to bind and loose in heaven, you are able on earth to take away or give, to each according to his merits, empires, kingdoms, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men."

So when Columbus appeared, Ferdinand and Isabella lost no time in sending an embassy to Rome, praying the Supreme Pontiff to grant them the islands and mainlands discovered and to be discovered, but insinuating in the communication that many learned men considered their title already good. It is to be regretted that the archives of Rome are not open to the historian, as it is probable they could throw much light upon the negotiations of Castile and Arragon with the Roman See, then occupied by Alexander VI., a Spaniard by birth, and thoroughly Spanish in his sympathies. The result of these negotiations was the publication of three bulls, the first dated May 3, 1493, another issued the next day, May 4th, and a third, called *Bula de Extension y Donacion Apostolica de las Indias*, published September 26th, of the same year. These bulls were confirmed by Pope Julius in 1506.

They are not easy of access, that of May 4th alone being printed in the *Bullaria Romana*. It is reprinted in Navarette,[1] in Peter Martyr, and in other old works. That of May 3d can be found in Muñoz,[2] and the letter which

[1] Navarette, *Coleccion de los Viages*, etc., Madrid, 1825, *sqq.*, 5 vols.

[2] Muñoz, *Historia del Nuevo Mondo.*

Alexander VI. sent with the bulls to his nuncio at the court of Spain has been reprinted by Harrisse.[1]

The first, called the *Bull of Concession*, makes "a perpetual gift of the islands and mainlands discovered by our dear son Christopher Columbus to the Kings of Castile and Leon," with such rights and privileges as those granted by the popes to the kings of Portugal. It omits however the clause inserted in the sixth and eighth paragraphs of that of May 4th, and designed to keep the peace between Spain and Portugal by drawing a line of demarcation one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.[2] The third, called the *Bull of Extension*, included in the grant already made all discoveries made by the Spaniards in the East Indies of territory not at the time in the possession of Christian monarchs.[3]

That of May 4th, called the *Bull of Demarcation*, which is the most important, beginning with the words "Insulæ Novi Orbis," after greeting the Catholic kings, speaks with approbation of the spread of the Catholic faith and the subjection of barbarous nations, and in particular of the recent conquest of Granada. It mentions information received at the Chair of Peter of the great enterprise undertaken by the Catholic kings, in prosecuting which neither labor nor expense nor peril was spared, and blood was shed, and declares it deserving of honor that this pious and praiseworthy enterprise was undertaken for the glory of God, and the propagation of the Catholic faith. It approves this effort to find remote and unknown islands and mainlands, and attributes it to the good pleasure of God that our dear son Christopher Columbus, a man highly commended and

[1] Harrisse, *Bibl. Amer. Vet. Additions.*

[2] After the words "Versus Indiem" supply "omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectus et detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo lineam a Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, sive terre firmæ & insula inventæ & inveniende sint versus Indiem aut versus aliquam quamcunque partem, quæ lina distet a qualibet insulam, quæ vulgariter nuncupanter de los Azores y capo verde centem leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem."

[3] Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, 305.

fit for so great an undertaking, with other similar men, had with great toil and peril, and at great expense, sought remote and unknown countries in waters not before navigated.

It affirms that he, by the aid of God, discovered certain remote islands and continents inhabited by many peaceable nations, which seemed ready to believe in God and embrace the Catholic faith, and receive instruction in good conduct, and asserts that the said Christopher Columbus already has a castle in one of the islands in which other Christian men live with him, and that the inhabitants have asked him to build castles in other islands.

In these islands gold, spices, and many other valuable articles are found.

Wherefore the Catholic kings should use all diligence to bring the natives and inhabitants to a knowledge of the Divine clemency. We highly commend your pious and laudable proposition, and desire that you carry the name of Christ into those parts, and charge you that you let neither perils nor toils deter you from your pious intention of inducing the natives and inhabitants to receive the Christian religion, but prosecute it with a firm hope and reliance that the Omnipotent God will bring that which has been conceived to a happy end.

As in large affairs the Apostolic Office gives of grace, not on account of the urgency of the petition, but from a proper motive and of pure liberality and certain knowledge, and out of the fulness of the Apostolic power, therefore by the authority which the Omnipotent God has granted to the Blessed Peter and to the Vicarate which we administer in the earth, we give and assign in perpetuity to you, your heirs and successors, all islands or mainlands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, towards the west and south of a line drawn from pole to pole one hundred leagues from the Azores or Cape Verde Islands, and not actually possessed by Christian kings and princes on the day of the nativity of our Lord last past, as many as are found by your messengers and captains, with their lordships, states,

fortified places, countries, and towns, with all rights and jurisdictions pertaining thereto.

We command you to send out with all due diligence just and God-fearing men, learned, and expert, to instruct the natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith and good morals.

The penalty of excommunication shall lie upon any persons of any state, or condition, or royalty, who for any purpose shall enter this proscribed district without special license from you or your heirs.

Such in substance is the famous bull which distributed half of the globe. As a whole it is intelligible. Two expressions only have given rise to controversy, viz., "qualibet insulam" and "Occidentem et Meridiem." Much speculation has arisen over the reasons of the location of the line of demarcation. This was made the subject of an interesting inquiry by Humboldt, to whom it occurred that it was probably the line of "no variation" of the magnetic needle, noticed by Columbus on the outward voyage, which he found was crossed September 13, 1492, in lat. 28°, long. 30°, 15′, about 3° west of the Isle de Flores.[1]

As might have been expected, a line of demarcation drawn for geographical reasons did not prove satisfactory. Negotiations between Portugal and Spain resulted in the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, which modified the bull by removing the line 370 leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands, and the signatory powers bound themselves to respect the bull as thus modified. This line of 1494, when extended past the poles to the antipodes, gave Portugal a claim to Brazil, the Moluccas, the Philippines, and half of New Guinea.

The early discoverers published the bull wherever they went. One of them actually made proclamation to the Indians as follows: "I, Alonzo de Ojeda, servant of the very high and powerful Kings of Castile and Leon, notify and make known to you the following things." Then he

[1] Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, iii., 44–52 (note). *Cf.* Oscar Peschel, *Die Theilung der Erde unter Pabst Alexader VI. und Julius II.*, Leipzig, 1871.

spoke of the creation, the dispersion, asserted that S. Peter was given charge of these races, and that his seat was established in Rome as the fittest place for governing the world, and informed them of certain papers, which the Indians could see if they liked, whereby a pope gave the Catholic sovereigns the Western islands and continents. "Wherefore I entreat and command you that after taking due time to consider this, you acknowledge the church as the sovereign lady of the world and the Pope in her name, and his majesty in his place as Lord of these isles and this continent." But the Reformation was brewing, kings no longer bowed to the will of the popes as did Henry IV. at Canossa. The consequences of excommunication became less serious. The canon law gradually fell into desuetude. The bull, which two centuries earlier would have been final, was not accepted as conclusive.

The power of Alexander VI. to thus distribute America was admitted by Portugal and Spain alone, and that not without much controversy, especially over the Moluccas, which the Portuguese discovered in 1511. Finally in 1529, Charles V. needing money for his Italian enterprises, Spain by the treaty of Saragossa ceded her rights to the Moluccas in consideration of 350,000 ducats. Magellan circumnavigating the globe discovered the Philippines in 1521, and because westward bound claimed them for the Spanish crown. To substantiate the claim the map was put in evidence, but on it the Philippines were located twenty-five degrees from their true meridian. Eventually all parties acknowledged the rights respectively of Portugal to Brazil and the Moluccas and of Spain to the Philippines. But England, France, and Holland steadily denied the right of the pontiff to distribute America, and prosecuted their own discoveries as they saw fit.

It will be remembered that Columbus, after the King of Portugal declined to undertake the enterprise, sent his brother Bartholomew to propose it to Henry VII. of England. But Bartholomew fell into the hands of pirates, and when he landed was so destitute as to be unpresentable at

court. When finally he had earned money to procure suitable clothing, and the King had agreed to undertake the enterprise, it was too late, for Christopher Columbus had had his memorable interview with Queen Isabella. Henry VII., however, only recognized the claims of Spain and Portugal so far as they actually occupied the countries to which they laid claim. Hakluyt, 1584, held that the King's acceptance of Bartholomew Columbus' proposition gave him an equal right to make discoveries, and asserted "the Popes gifte was of no more force than that whiche they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie."[1] In the debates of the House of Commons, 1620–1621, the Spanish claims were ridiculed. Bentham almost alone of English writers eulogized the line of demarcation as producing less confusion than the attempt to hold a continent under the rules of Roman law.[2] Spain in her diplomatic intercourse gradually abandoned references to the bull. In her dispute with Great Britain in 1790 over Nootka Sound she based her claims upon priority of discovery and long possession, confirmed by the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.[3] Other powers imitated her example. The ukase of Alexander of Russia, 4–16 September, 1821, claimed the coast of America from Bering Strait to 51° north, on the ground of discovery, occupation, and undisputed possession for more than half a century, and the United States prosecuted its claims to Oregon mainly on the ground of discovery, occupation, and the Spanish title.

Modern diplomatists and publicists in England, France, Spain, Russia, Holland, and the United States ignore the bull and establish the title to America on the ground so clearly stated by Vattel, of discovery and occupation.[4]

The distinctively American position is stated authoritatively by our great Chief-Justice Marshall[5] as follows:

[1] Hakluyt, *Westerne Planting*, ch. 18, 19. Cf. Bacon, *Henry VII.*

[2] Maine, *Ancient Law* 241.

[3] Wheaton's *International Law*, Lawrence's ed., 306, 307, 314.

[4] Vattel, *Law of Nations*, l. i., c. 18, sec. 207, 208.

[5] Marshall, C.-J. Johnston *vs.* McIntosh, 8 Wheat., 543, 572, 579, 587.

"On the discovery of this immense continent the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. . . . It was necessary in order to avoid conflicting settlements and consequent wars with each other to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition should be regulated as between themselves. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made against all European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. The exclusion of all other Europeans necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives. . . . The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to the great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold and assert in themselves the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy either by purchase or by conquest."

THE CONFESSIONAL HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

THE CONFESSIONAL HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

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1. *The Planting of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.*

To the earliest Protestant communions which found a home upon the hospitable shores of North America belongs the Evangelical Lutheran Church. As early as 1638 a colony, professing the Lutheran faith, arrived from Sweden. They purchased from the Indians a tract of land, lying in Eastern Pennsylvania and in the present State of Delaware, established a number of churches, built houses of worship, and were served by devout and liberally educated ministers.

But even before the settlement of New Sweden, as this colony was called, Lutherans from Holland had come to the New Netherlands, notably to New Amsterdam. They were not allowed, however, to conduct divine service publicly in accordance with their religious convictions. Neither was the presence of a Lutheran clergyman, whose ministrations they could enjoy, permitted in the colony. It was not until 1664, when the English came into possession, that religious liberty was accorded to the Lutherans as well as to all such churches which do not accept the articles of the Synod of Dort. Churches had been organized in New Amsterdam and Beverswycke (Albany), and the Lutheran consistory at Amsterdam sent a pastor, but the dominies of the Dutch congregation, Megapolensis, and his assistant, Drisius, pre-

vailed upon Stuyvesant, the Director-General, to return the Lutheran minister to Holland.

It is somewhat strange that from the land of Luther no Lutheran colonists arrived until toward the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. But when they did come, they came in great numbers. Thousands upon thousands poured into New York and Pennsylvania and spread into adjoining territory. We also find early settlements of German Lutherans in North and South Carolina, and the Ebenezer colony of the persecuted Salzburgers in Georgia.

2. *The Present Strength of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America and Her Divisions.*

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country now numbers more than 5,000 ministers, 8,700 congregations, and fully 1,300,000 communicant members.[1] For the education of her ministry the Lutheran Church maintains 23 theological seminaries, of which 9 are predominantly German, 8 chiefly English, 3 Norwegian, 2 Danish, and 1 Swedish. Her ministers preach the Gospel not only in German and English and in the five Scandinavian languages (Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Icelandic), but also in French, Bohemian, Slavonian, and Polonaise, as well as in the languages of one or two other nationalities. As the

[1] The report of the United States Census Office shows that in June, 1890, the Lutheran Church had 8,427 church organizations, 6,559 church edifices, with a seating capacity of 2,159,290, and valued at $34,218,234, and 1,199,514 communicant members. To the General Synod belonged 1,424 churches, 1,322 edifices valued at $8,919,170, and 164,640 communicants; to the United Synod in the South 414 churches, 379 edifices, valued at $1,114,065, and 37,457 communicants; to the General Council 1,995 churches, 1,512 edifices, valued at $10,996,786, and 317,145 communicants; to the Synodical Conference 1,934 churches, 1,531 edifices, valued at $7,804,313, and 357,153 communicants; and the balance to the twelve independent synods. But this report, we are informed, is not complete and final. Not only have a number of independent churches not yet reported, but the entire Wisconsin district of the German Synod of Iowa has here been omitted. The corrected returns will give the Lutheran Church in the United States, for June, 1890, 8,500 churches, 6,600 church edifices, and 1,210,000 communicants.

composition of the membership of the Lutheran Church is so polyglot, it is but natural to expect that there should be a number of divisions on the ground of language and nationality. As the Lutheran churches are spread over the length and breadth of these United States, it becomes a matter of necessity to have further divisions for geographical reasons. And as the various synods differ in their acceptance of, and in their subscription to the confessions of the church, some holding a more liberal, others a more conservative position, whilst there are still others whose relation to the confessions is most rigid and extreme, it is evident that there must also be divisions on the basis of a greater or less degree of fidelity respecting the confessions.

At the present time the Lutheran Church in this land has sixty-one synodical organizations, forty-nine of which are connected with four general bodies, whilst twelve maintain an independent position.

3. *The Confessions of the Lutheran Church.*

In her Symbolical Books the Lutheran Church assigns the chief place to those confessions which have been generally received by the Christian Church, to-wit: the Apostles', the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan, and the Athanasian creeds. Among the six other confessional writings which she accepts, the Augsburg Confession is accorded the principal place. This confession was prepared in the name of the Protestant princes and theologians, was read at the diet of the empire held at Augsburg in 1530, and was solemnly delivered to the emperor as the creed of Luther and his followers. In it they gave an answer to every man that asked them a reason of the hope that was in them. The Apology of 1530 is a defence of the Augsburg Confession against the attacks made upon the latter by the Roman doctors in their Confutatio. The Larger and Smaller Catechisms (1529) were prepared by Luther for the instruction of the young and for the better information of an ignorant clergy. He is also the author of the Smalcald Articles, which were to be laid before a council that the Pope had promised to convene,

and to which the evangelical states had been invited. The Formula of Concord was prepared by several Lutheran theologians for the purpose of adjusting certain differences and misunderstandings that had arisen in the Lutheran Church. It was published in 1577.[1] All of these documents are acknowledged and received as confessional writings and accorded confessional authority in nearly all the countries which accepted the Lutheran Reformation. These nine confessional writings were published in 1580 under the title *Book of Concord.* The preface to this book bore the signatures of fifty-one princes and of the representatives of thirty-five free cities.

"The fundamental doctrine most largely asserted in them is, that we are justified before God not through any merit of our own, but by his tender mercy through faith in his son. The depravity of man is total in its extent, and his will has no positive ability in the work of salvation, but has the negative ability of ceasing its resistance. Jesus Christ offered a proper, vicarious, propitiatory sacrifice. Faith in Christ presupposes a true penitence. The renewed man co-works with the Spirit of God. Sanctification is progressive and never reaches absolute perfection in this life. The Holy Spirit works through the Word and the Sacraments, which only, in the proper sense, are means of grace. Both the Word and the Sacraments bring a positive grace, which is offered to all who receive them outwardly, and which is actually imparted to all who have faith to embrace it."[2]

The Lutheran Church believes that her confessions are scriptural throughout, and that they do not contain a one-sided or partial statement of the divine truth. Christ, true God and true man, is the centre. He permeates the whole system.

[1] Krauth, *Cons. Ref.*, 129. "As the church did but the more surely abide by the Apostles' Creed in setting forth the Nicene, and did but furnish fresh guarantee of her devotion to the Nicene in adopting the Athanasian, and gave reassurance of her fidelity to the three œcumenical creeds in accepting the Augsburg Confession—so in the body of symbols in the Book of Concord she reset her seal to the one old faith, amplified but not changed in the course of time."

[2] Krauth, *Cons. Ref.*, 127.

4. *The Relation of the Early Lutheran Church in America to these Confessions.*

a. The Swedish Lutherans along the Delaware.—When in realization of the plans conceived by Gustavus Adolphus to plant the Christian religion among the wild inhabitants of this country, and particularly to promote the common interests of the Protestant world, several companies of Swedish Lutherans settled along the Delaware, and John Printz was appointed Governor, the Council of State furnished him with minute instructions, the 26th article of which reads:

"Above all things shall the Governor consider and see to it, that a true and due worship, becoming honor, laud, and praise be paid to the Most High God in all things, and to that end all proper care shall be taken that divine service be zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsälä, and the Ceremonies of the Swedish Church."

And to show the confessional standing of the Swedish pastors subsequently sent out by the authorities to minister to the churches in the New World, we need only refer to the law in ecclesiastical matters promulgated in 1686 by King Charles XI., and which in its essential features is still in force. This church-act begins as follows:

"In our kingdom, and in the countries belonging thereto, all persons shall profess, solely and simply, the Christian doctrine and the Christian faith, which is contained in the Holy Word of God in the prophetical and apostolic scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and which is comprehensively stated in the three chief symbols, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as well as in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of the year 1530, adopted in 1593 by the Council at Upsälä, and explained in the entire so-called Book of Concord. And all those who assume any office as teachers in the churches, academies, gymnasia, or schools, shall at their ordination, or when they receive a degree, under oath, solemnly subscribe this doctrine and confession."

b. The Dutch Lutherans along the Hudson.—The colony of Dutch Lutherans at New Amsterdam and Beverswycke

(Albany) was in spiritual matters under the care of the Consistory of the Lutheran Church at Amsterdam, in Holland. This body furnished the Dutch churches of the Lutheran faith in the New World with pastors, and the churches were organized upon the basis of the constitution of the parent church. In their constitutions all these churches unequivocally acknowledged the Augsburg Confession, as well as the other Symbolical Books as their faith. Part I., chapter i., of *Doctrine*, declares:

"The pastors of this congregation shall regulate and determine all their teaching and preaching by the rule of the Divine Word, the biblical, prophetical, and apostolical writings, and according to our Symbolical Books, to wit: the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, delivered to Charles V., anno 30 (1530), the Apology of the same, the Smalcald Articles, the Formula of Concord, together with both Catechisms of Luther throughout, and shall not teach or preach anything contrary to the same, be it privately or publicly, nor shall they introduce or use any new phrases which are at variance with the same, or contradict them."

Similar declarations occur also in other parts of the same constitution.[1]

Public divine service was conducted and the pastoral acts were performed in accordance with the Antwerp Agende, prepared by that strict Lutheran divine Cyriacus Spangenberg, adopted by the church at Amsterdam, and used by the Dutch Lutheran churches along the Hudson.

[1] The same chapter continues: "In like manner in all points in dispute between us and others, they (*i. e.* the pastors) shall be governed by the aforesaid Scriptures and also the aforesaid Symbolical Books, and shall decide and judge by these alone."

Part II., chapter ii., of the *Call*, etc.: "The candidate, if previously a pastor, must present testimonials from his former charge, of his irreproachable life and of his adherence to the pure doctrine of our Confession and our Symbolical Books." The candidates to be ordained "must subscribe and obey this constitution."

In the constitution of 1607 this clause is added: "They (*i. e.* the ministers) shall, with good judgment and reasonable prudence, exclude from the use of the Sacraments and of the Ministrations of our Church, Papists, Anabaptists, Schwenkfelders, Calvinists, New Manicheans or Flacians, and all others who not only do not hold our doctrine, but also are an occasion of offence, and lead astray the simple and weak."

In their petition to the Director-General, dated October 24, 1656, they say:

"We, the united members of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the New Netherlands, have faithfully obeyed the law concerning religious meetings. At the same time we have, however, requested our friends in the fatherland to induce the Directors of the West India Company to grant toleration to the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of faith in this land as is the case in Holland."

It is worthy of note that only the strictest adherents to the confessions of the Lutheran Church use the term "Unaltered" when speaking of the Augsburg Confession which they receive.[1]

c. The German Lutherans in Pennsylvania and Adjacent Territory.—Important as it is in this connection to consider the relation of the early Dutch and Swedish Lutherans to the confessions of their church, the confessional character of the early German Lutherans is of by far greater importance, inasmuch as their numbers were much larger than the combined strength of both these others, and their influence was correspondingly far-reaching and lasting.

Years before the arrival of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, who is justly regarded as the organizer of the Lutheran Church in this country, faithful pastors had labored among the German settlers in the colony of New York. These were men eminent in learning and most zealous in their adherence to the pure doctrine of the confessions. They belonged to the Orthodox as over against the Pietists, and regarded with suspicion the Lutheranism of Mühlenberg and his coworkers, because they had come from pietistic Halle. The most efficient of these men was W. C. Berkenmeyer. It is probably due to his influence that in several deeds of church property and other important documents the Augsburg Confession of 1530 is styled "Unalterable." So also in his call to the church at Quassaick (Newburgh) it is

[1] Thus the churches of the Missouri Synod usually have the inscription, Church of the U. A. C.'

made his duty "to minister as well in preaching the Holy Gospel purely according to the Holy Scriptures and the Symbolical Books of our Lutheran Church, as in administering the Holy Sacraments according to Christ's institution, and practicing the usual ceremonies of the fellow-believers of the Unalterable Augsburg Confession." [1]

But notwithstanding the suspicion with which the men sent out by the Consistory of Hamburg regarded those coming from Halle, Mühlenberg and his colaborers were no less sincere in their acceptance of the confessional writings of their church. They did not belong to the later Pietists of Halle, but theirs was the pure pietism of the earlier period of Phil. Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke.

When, in 1748, in connection with some Swedish Lutheran pastors, Mühlenberg and his colaborers organized the first Lutheran Synod in this country, "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent States," it was provided in its constitution that "every minister shall in doctrine and life show himself to be in accord with the Word of God and our Symbolical Books." If any one held or preached doctrines contrary to the confessions he was to be disciplined. Candidates for the Gospel ministry were carefully examined with reference to their knowledge of the contents of the confessions and their fidelity to the same. Both in Pennsylvania and New York [2] the candidates were required to sign a pledge in which they solemnly promised not to preach or teach anything contrary to the confessions of the church. [3]

This fidelity to the confessions they likewise implanted into the congregational life. The earliest congregational constitution prepared by the Halle men that has come down to us is that of the Augustus Church at The Trappe in

[1] *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 590.

[2] Ministerium of New York, organized 1786, by ministers belonging to the Pennsylvania Synod and with the consent of this body.

[3] Mühlenberg once complains that some have, indeed, subscribed to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, but that their heart remained unchanged. *Halle Nachr.*, 1214.

Pennsylvania. Mühlenberg himself is its author. Article i., of this constitution, says: "They (*i. e.* the elders and deacons) shall strive, as they hope for their souls' salvation, that the evangelical doctrine, according to the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets and our Symbolical Books, be evermore fully apprehended," and Article iii., "They shall watch carefully that the evangelical doctrine, according to the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets and our Symbolical Books, be perpetuated to our descendants." In the constitution of St. Michael's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, drawn up a few years later, and also by Mühlenberg, it is made the duty of the pastors and their successors to "preach the Word of God, as given by the Apostles and Prophets, and in accordance with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession." The same principle was embodied in documents recording the transfer of property for church purposes. It was solemnly proclaimed at the laying of corner-stones of church edifices and at the occasion of the dedication of the same. This fidelity to the confessions of the church was also reflected in the liturgy and service of the congregation, the order for ministerial acts, and in various other ways.[1]

Still, it has been claimed, chiefly because of lack of better information, that Mühlenberg and his colaborers were not orthodox but liberal, and that they did not accept *ex animo* the confessions of the Lutheran Church. This claim has been strenuously urged for fifty years during the present century by friends of the liberal *Richtung* in the Lutheran

[1] For further information we refer to *Halle Nachrichton*, new edition, 43, 45, 114, 118, 140, 237, 473, 514, 579, 619, 622, 657; *Hartwick Memorial*, 197, 251 ff., 257, 388: where the Augsburg Confession is especially referred to. *Halle Nachr.* n. e., 40, 83, 85, 122, 135, 136, 138, 151, 210, 215, 236, 271, 275, 304, 353, 387, 393, 496, 514, 581, 622, 625 f. and 646 refer to all of the Symbolical Books. Again, *Halle Nachrichten*, old edition, 849 f., 856, 860, 864, 926, 931 f., 962 ff., 1140, 1182, 1214, 1241 f., 1246, 1287. See also the writers *Geschichte des New York Ministeriums*, 63–76, and *Lutheran Church Review*, *The Organization of the Congregation in the Early Lutheran Churches in America*, by B. M. Schmucker, D.D., July 1887, also *Life and Times of H. M. Mühlenberg*, by W. J. Mann, D.D., 1819, 191 f., 210, 211, 281, 392 f., 469, 504 f.

Church, and it is only within the last few years that, to our knowledge, no public assertion of this myth has been ventured. The evidence which historical research, especially during recent years, has brought to light, has furnished overwhelming proof of the contrary.

We close this part of our investigation by citing what Dr. Mühlenberg himself once stated in answer to a charge of heterodoxy brought against him by certain men of the orthodox school, based upon the general assumption that he, coming from Halle, could not be a true and faithful Lutheran. Dr. Mühlenberg says:

"I defy Satan, and all the lying spirits who serve him, to prove against me anything in conflict with the doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets and of our Symbolical Books. I have often and again said and written that I have found in our Evangelical doctrine, founded on the Apostles and Prophets and set forth in our Symbolical Books, neither error, fault or anything wanting."

These words are certainly strong and explicit enough to disprove any charge of disloyalty to the confessions.

What is stated here of the early German Lutheran ministers and churches in the North is no less true of the Salzburg refugees and a few other German Lutheran colonies in the South.

5. *The Influence of Rationalism and Infidelity—The Departure from the Faith Confessed by the Fathers.*

The wide and deep ocean which separates America from Europe was not a sufficient protection for the Church of Christ and our free institutions on this side of the Atlantic against the baneful influences of French Atheism, English Deism, and German Rationalism. During the French and Indian war, English officers and soldiers introduced deistic sentiments. In consequence of the noble assistance which the French rendered us in our struggle for independence, the youth of the nation and our statesmen and officers in the army became infatuated with French ideas and the

specious theories of French atheism. Deism, atheism, and infidelity prevailed to an alarming extent. Every part of the land, every condition of human society, and every religious association was involved. Anti-Trinitarian, Arian, and Socinian views spread in all churches. Religion suffered serious decay, and the churches presented a wide scene of desolation. The years following the war were a time of the lowest general morality in American history.[1]

The freedom and independence secured upon the political arena asserted itself also in the church, and was misinterpreted to mean license in matters of faith. The broadest toleration and the utmost liberty of thought were advocated. There came a strong revulsion against all systems of faith. Creeds and confessions were abhorred as human fabrications, and freely denounced from the pulpit as time-worn, and as generally laid aside. A few fundamentals were considered sufficient, but just what these few fundamentals were, in that there was little agreement. Doctrines which had always been considered fundamental were ridiculed and rejected.[2] Some churches renounced all confessions of faith.[3]

Although this last was not the case in any part of the Lutheran Church in Europe, and can hardly be said to have occurred anywhere in America, still Rationalism made fear-

[1] The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1798 declared: "Formidable innovation and convulsions in Europe threaten destruction to morals and religion; scenes of devastation and bloodshed unexampled in the history of modern nations have convulsed the Old World, and our country is threatened with similar calamities. We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow-citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and the institution of religion, and an abounding infidelity which, in many instances, tends to atheism itself.

"The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportioned to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound."

[2] *Cf.* Wolf, *Lutherans in America*, 1890, 271 *ff.*

[3] Goebel, *Die religiöse Eigenthümlichkeit der luth. und ref. Kirche*, 1837, 123.

ful inroads and wrought terrible havoc also in her domains. Hymn books, church service, and forms for ministerial acts were altered to suit the vitiated taste. The mention of the Symbolical Books, or even of the Augsburg Confession, in church or synodical constitutions was largely omitted. Pledges to preach the Word of God faithfully according to the confessions of the Church were no longer demanded. Luther's Catechism, which the fathers had faithfully used in the instruction of the young, was discovered to be no longer in accord with the spirit of the times, and was, therefore, superseded by other books. One of these catechisms indicates, perhaps, the lowest level reached in this respect during this period in the Lutheran Church; it is the *Evangelical Catechism* of Rev. Dr. F. H. Quitman, published in 1814. The doctrine concerning the Trinity is simply omitted. He states that the great purpose of Christ's suffering and death was to seal with his blood the doctrine which he had preached. "Justifying faith" is defined as "an impressive sense of the glorious perfections of God and of his relation to men, as their creator, preserver, governor, and judge," and as "a corresponding pious disposition arising from it." A similar answer is given to the question, "What is faith in Christ?" It is simply, "A firm belief in the divine authority of Jesus, and of his doctrine and promises." Justification is spoken of as "the reward that God has graciously promised to the true believers in Christ." [1]

[1] *Evangelical Catechism: or a Short Exposition of the Principal Doctrines and Precepts of the Christian Religion, for the Use of the Churches, Belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York. To Which are added: 1. A Scriptural Advice to the Young; 2. Sir M. Hale's Character of a True Christian; 3. An Address to Those who Wish to be Confirmed; 4. A Sketch of the History of Religion; 5. A Collection of Prayers for Parents and Children.*—By Fred. Henry Quitman, D.D., President of the Synod and Minister of the Gospel at Rhinebeck. With consent and approbation of the Synod, Hudson, Published by W. H. Norman, 1814. There is, however, no record in the minutes that the catechism was ever laid before the Synod for its approval. Notwithstanding the great influence which Dr. Quitman exercised in his day, his catechism did not sell. Several editions of Luther's Catechism were published, and these were in greater demand.

6. *The Reaction.*

About the year 1825 a reaction set in. Men of piety and positive Christian conviction began to make their influence felt. Schools for the training of the future ministry were established and men put in charge who believed in the Holy Trinity, the Godhead of Christ, and in his mediatorial work, and who knew that it is not a mere historic faith which saves, and that justification is not a reward for believing, but the free and gracious act of God.

There was, however, as yet no return to the faith of the fathers. The confessions were not read, not inquired after. The great mass of the ministry were ignorant of the doctrines therein set forth. Many considered the confessions more than superfluous. They claimed that in this enlightened age they understood the Scriptures far better, than it was possible for a Luther and the other authors of the confessions who had lived in the sixteenth century. Fifty years ago it was earnestly argued by some of the most influential men in the Church in the leading periodical of that period, that as a Sunday-School scholar of the present day had more knowledge of the gospel and a better insight into the New Testament dispensation than the Apostle Peter had, so we, at the present day, have a clearer and fuller understanding of the Scriptures than was possible in the days of the reformers. They were the children, children in Christian understanding, but we, living in this age of progress and inventions, are the fathers.[1] What need have we of these confessional documents that have served their purpose and become obsolete!

Such was the cry raised by the two most influential men in the older and English portion of the Lutheran Church. And indeed, these men and their friends went so far as to freely charge the Augsburg Confession with error. The chief professor of theology in the principal Lutheran theological seminary in the church publicly stated that they rejected certain articles in the Augsburg Confession, to wit:

[1] Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, in *Lutheran Observer* of Nov. 23, 1849.

articles two, nine, ten, eleven, twenty-five, and twenty-eight, or at least portions of them, as contrary to Scripture.[1] Of course, there were on the other side also men who defended the Confessions with great ability.

But the so-called "Definite Synodical Platform" of 1855, an American revision of the Augsburg Confession, proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. This torso of the confession was sent to all the synods belonging to the General Synod, for their consideration. No minister should be admitted into the synodical body unless he had accepted this revised confession. This bold act called forth a storm of indignation. The synods almost unanimously repudiated it. Able articles and books were written in defence of the confessions.[2] The Symbolical Books were studied as they had not been since the days of Mühlenberg. And, on the whole, the publication of this Platform had the very opposite effect from that intended by its authors, to wit: earnest study of the Confessions of the Church, and a fuller appreciation of the same.[3] The struggle, touching the question of a return to the confessional position held by the fathers, waxed hot in the General Synod for several years, and finally resulted in the disruption of this body at Ft. Wayne, Ind., in 1866. The more conservative elements which separated, united in the formation of the General Council the year following.

[1] Dr. S. S. Schmucker, professor in the theological seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., in *Lutheran Observer*, Oct. 16, and Nov. 9, 1849.

[2] Rev. Dr. W. J. Mann, in his *Plea for the Augsburg Confession*, thoroughly exposed the utter fallacy of the position taken.

[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that one of the three authors of this Platform, and the only one that survives, the Rev. S. Sprecher, D.D., LL.D., has recently publicly declared, that he has been led to a fuller and better understanding and appreciation of the Augsburg Confession, and that he now receives it, every article of it, and without reservation. He continues: "The Church must have a definite doctrinal position, and as all other definitions of our faith as a Church seem to be hopeless (all having thus far been rejected by the Church), and as I feel that personal piety can be as well promoted by the spirit of Lutheran Pietism I feel that there is no alternative but the adoption, without any modification, of the Augsburg Confession."

7. *The Relation of the Various Lutheran Bodies (Which They at Present Sustain) to the Confessions of the Church.*

The Lutheran Church, in this country is, as we have seen, not only divided upon the basis of geographical distance and language, but also, and principally, upon doctrinal grounds. There are at present four general bodies, and twelve independent synods. With reference to their confessional position, these may be arranged into three classes, to wit:

a. The Synods Maintaining a more Liberal Position over against the Confessions.—To this class belongs the General Synod, and two or three of the smaller independent synods. The General Synod was organized in 1820, and now numbers 27 synods, scattered all over the country, 1,013 ministers, 1,478 churches, and 165,000 communicants. This body admits only such synods into membership "receiving and holding with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word."[1] It is but due to this body to state that a large and increasing majority of ministers and churches seem to have a higher appreciation of the confessions than this basis would indicate.

b. The Synods Most Rigid in Their Adherence to the Confessions.—To this class belongs the Synodical Conference, formed in 1872, and composed principally of the very large synod of Missouri. This general body now embraces four synods, 1,426 ministers, 1,962 churches, and 375,000 communicants. The Lutherans, who some fifty years ago, coming from Saxony under the leadership of Walther and Stephan, sought religious freedom in the United States, form the nucleus of this organization. Of the independent synods, the old Norwegian, numbering 60,000 communicants, and the smaller synod of Michigan, are

[1] *Constitution*, Art. ii., Section 3.

to be classed with the Conference. The article of the constitution containing the terms of the subscription is briefly this: "The Synodical Conference acknowledges the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as God's Word, and the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of 1580, called The Concordia, as its own."

c. The Synods Holding a Conservative Position.—To these belong (1) the ten synods constituting the General Council. They number 1,260 ministers, 2,151 churches, and 340,000 communicants; (2) the United Synod in the South, with its 8 synods, 201 ministers, 474 churches, and 38,000 communicants; (3) most of the independent synods, having 772 ministers, 1,843 churches, and 275,000 communicants. The articles of subscription in the Constitution of the General Council is quite full, and states in brief, that this body, "accepts and acknowledges the doctrine of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense, as throughout in conformity with the pure truth, of which God's Word is the only rule," and that the other confessions "are with the Augsburg Confession in perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith."[1]

Summary :—To the more *liberal* wing belong at present: 32 synods, 1,192 ministers, 1,866 churches, and 200,000 com-

[1] The full text of the confessional basis of the General Council is: "We accept and acknowledge the doctrine of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth, of which God's Word is the only rule. We accept its statements of truth as in perfect accordance with the canonical Scriptures. We reject the errors it condemns, and believe that all which it commits to the liberty of the Church of right belongs to that liberty.

"In thus formally accepting and acknowledging the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, we declare our conviction that the other confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, inasmuch as they set forth none other than its system of doctrine and articles of faith, are of necessity pure and scriptural. Preëminent among such accordant, pure and scriptural statements of doctrine, by their intrinsic excellence, by the great and necessary ends for which they were prepared, by their historical position, and by the general judgment of the Church, are these: The Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord, all of which are, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith."

municants. Those holding an *extreme* position number: 6 synods, 1,643 ministers, 2,585 churches, and 445,000 communicants. The more *conservative* branch is represented by 24 synods, 2,200 ministers, 4,350 churches, and 655,000 communicants, thus showing that whilst 34 per cent. of the Lutherans in this country hold an extreme position, fully 50 per cent. are conservative, and less than 16 per cent. belong to the liberal side of the house.[1]

[1] These figures are based on Bulletin No. 152 of the Eleventh Census of the United States, and are larger and fuller than those usually found in the Almanacs and Annuals of the Church.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT IN ARCHITECTURE

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT IN ARCHITECTURE.[1]

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I.

The subject discussed in this paper is one that will not be found in the text books, either architectural or theological, though it touches on both. Architecture is a human idea, a product of the human mind; it is not a creation of the fancy, not the deliberate design of the draughtsman, not the outcome of a moment's inspiration. Originating in the need of man for shelter it has been the most human of the arts, closely associated with human life and thought, advancing with human civilization, retrograding with man's backward steps. To a very great extent, though perhaps not wholly so, architecture is a correct index of man's mental, social, political and religious state. Certain political conditions will be followed by certain intellectual advancement, or *vice versa* as the case may be, and architecture will be developed in a proportionate degree. The present discussion is limited entirely to the manifestation of religious ideas in architecture, and especially in Christian architecture.

[1] The literature of the subject *Christian Thought in Architecture* is a limited one so far as the particular idea conveyed in the title is concerned. As a matter of fact, however, any adequate list of works bearing on the topic would scarcely be less than the enumeration of the most trustworthy works on architecture supplemented with a goodly list of theological works. It seems scarcely wise, therefore, to burden these pages with references which at the most would be fragmentary and unsatisfactory in throwing very little light on the question at issue. The historians of theology and of architecture are each too much concerned with their especial topic to give more than the most cursory glance at the subject of the other. Obviously there is abundant room for a more ample discussion of architecture from the standpoint here taken than will be found in this paper.

It is no new thing to study the history of art for the illustration of the influence of religion, because in both sculpture and painting, man has chiefly expressed his conception of his God. A very large part of ancient and Christian painting and sculpture is composed of sacred images or is concerned with the treatment of sacred themes. The religious impulse in architecture—the oldest of the arts, and the most important, as being the most useful to man—has, however, been generally overlooked. Religious architecture has been well chronicled, because architectural history is little more than the history of religious edifices. But the history of religious structures is a very different thing from the history of the religious ideas calling those structures into existence, and which is illustrated in them.

If architecture is simply ornamental and ornamented construction, as some of the text books put it, there can be no benefit from a search after religious motives underlying any part of it. As a matter of fact architecture is much more, and a study of the Christian ideas in Christian building will help to show how wide and broad and true this is. Viewed from the standpoint of Christian faith architecture assumes a new importance in the eyes of the student. It becomes, as it is, a real, living art, having a purpose and expressing it. A church seems more than a simple building, more than a mere shelter for worshippers, but an actual testimony of the worshippers' faith and trust, which needs no vivid imagination or keen insight to make evident.

Christian architecture reached its highest stage in an age which was above all things architectural. As the scholar or the writer of to-day gives expression to his thoughts and ideas in printed or spoken form, the people of the middle ages gave expression in architecture. The religious books of that time are scarcely more valuable as indication of the place of religion in the minds of the philosophers and writers than is the architecture. Perhaps only a student of architecture would admit this; yet if we search the written records for the mediæval conception of Christianity, should we not also ask the art monuments which freely and thor-

oughly expressed the life and ideas of the age, what manner of light they also throw on the question?

In discussing the architectural illustration of Christian ideas it is well to note that they come to an end with the Renaissance. We may find copious expression of Christian thought in the cathedral of the thirteenth century but none at all in the city church building of to-day. The complete disappearance of Christian faith and doctrine from the religious architecture of the early Renaissance is one of the most striking and interesting of architectural psychological questions. Yet the matter is not wholly psychological but depends not only on the strange fascination of the early Renaissance architects for pagan forms and pagan ideas, but upon the general change in methods of thought and progress current at that time. It need scarcely be pointed out that the modern church is far from expressing any especial Christian idea of doctrine. To an extent, of course, the most extraordinary of modern churches does correspond to some modern religious ideas, but the wonderful and complete illustration of Christian life and doctrine that is to be found in the mediæval building has disappeared.

Architecture and religion have now ceased to hold the exclusive attention of humanity. The Renaissance introduced new thoughts, new ideas, new occupations. The old life was dead and people began to live a new existence in which the old idea of religion was modified. The Reformation divided the Church and turned people's thoughts from the building of churches. Personal, subjunctive, religion took the place of good works and outward visible signs of inward spiritual graces. The great cathedral was neglected for the parish church, the sermon took the chief place in the sacred service.[1] Many a form and

[1] Yet the parish church is not a product of post-Reformation times, but is as marked a feature of mediæval architecture as the cathedral. One of the most striking things in many of the smaller European cathedral cities is the number of small churches, though the cathedral would seem large enough for all ordinary occasions. Canterbury contains nine small churches in addition to the cathedral, not including modern buildings or remains of monastic establishments. The city of Troyes in France has seven churches dating from the XVI c. and earlier, beside the cathedral.

doctrine were modified in the turmoil of the Reformation. It is no wonder in a movement so far reaching in its effects, so revolutionary in its results, that Christians should have ceased to express their faith in architecture, or indeed in any form of art. The Christian conscience underwent a change, and in the present day it seeks to glorify God in the sending forth of missionaries, in the establishment of homes and hospitals and other works of a charitable nature, rather than in erecting stupendous churches or magnificent cathedrals. Yet all these things were done, after a fashion, by the great monastic orders, which managed at the same time to build some of the most remarkable churches in Europe. We cannot explain the absence of Christian thought in our architecture as it was manifested in the middle ages by pointing to our charities and missions.

II.

It is a significant indication of the important place that religious ideas, religious influences, religious conceptions have exercised upon humanity that much the larger part of the architectural remains of any people, of any race or time, are buildings that have been put to a religious use, either as temples of gods or connected with forms of worship. There seems to be a general or primitive idea that a temple, a house, a covering of some kind, is a fit symbol wherein to express the conviction of religious thought. And so as shelter must have preceded any attempts at ornamentation, and man have made for himself some sort of retreat before he picked up some strange shaped twig and worshipped it, so architecture may claim to be the most religious and most ancient of the arts. Certainly it is the one that was first employed with a religious significance: certainly it is the one in which it has received its most imposing and lasting expression.

In Egypt the tomb alone approached the relics of religion in the multiplicity of its monuments, but the idea of a future life, of which the tomb was an expression, was part of Egyptian religion, and its peculiar form and decoration

were determined by religious ideas. Of the people of antiquity, the Chaldæans and Assyrians appear to have been the most deficient in erecting temples. The temple or the tomb is the most characteristic monument of Egypt; the palace of the valley of the Euphrates. Archæologists have ventured to define several varieties of Chaldæan and Assyrian temples, but at the best their attempts are largely conjectural.[1] As a matter of fact, Assyria has not yet been explored sufficiently to warrant any opinion as to the exact nature and extent of its religious structures; but there is still abundant evidence of the prevalency of religious ideas, traditions, and worship amongst these people. Future explorations will doubtless show that religious architecture received from the Assyrians quite as much attention as, relatively, it had from the other peoples of antiquity.

With the Greeks as with the Egyptians, it was the temple that received the most care, on which was lavished the utmost resources of art, and which was the finest and most imposing product of the national culture. Though of small size, the Greek temple was more than a simple shelter for the statue of the god. The sculptures and paintings with which it was decorated made it a veritable treasury of the best result of Greek thought and labor. It was the joint product of the skill of the greatest architects, painters, and sculptors. It was under the inspiration of religion that the finest forms of Greek art were obtained, and the temple thus naturally became the seat of its most inspired thought. Yet the artistic splendors of the Periklean age were not alone an expression of pious fervor, but visible illustration of the power of the state, of the wealth of the community, of the superiority of Athenian genius. With the increase of culture in antiquity there is a corresponding decrease in the popular appreciation of the gods. The infidelity of poets and philosophers was not without its effect on all classes, but though in the days of her greatest

[1] A full discussion of this matter is contained in Perrot's *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*, i., 126, *et seq.*; i., 318, *et seq.* Also Perrot's *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, i., 364, *et seq.*

artistic triumphs Greece had, to a certain extent, lost her early faith in the gods and goddesses, temples were rebuilt, new ones proposed, and the income of a city expended in the creation of a single sacred statue. Whatever may have been the religious doubts of the Greeks, they had in religion a convenient way of expressing their national greatness and prosperity, their wealth and their resources. Religion with them never fell into such contempt that it did not serve as a medium through which to give vent to artistic form and thought.

The Romans, more irreligious than the Greeks, like them built temples, kept up elaborate households of priests, supported costly sacrifices and festivals, and gave outward indications of being religiously disposed. With them, more than with the Greeks, religion was a function, kept up for the credit of the state and the benefit of the uncultured who had not yet learned to understand the empty claims of the occupants of Olympus. Under the sensual, wasteful life of the empire Rome easily became the first infidel city of the world, yet, with all her impiety, she supported the temples, and even projected new ones. Low as was the estimation in which the Roman held religion, he found use for it in his most impious days. No features of Roman religious life are more marked than its liberality and its narrowness. The Romans absorbed religions much as they did political states. Setting forth to conquer the world, they exacted homage and tribute, but left each nation free to practise its own religion in its own way. Sometimes the foreign faith was engrafted on the Roman pantheon, the foreign gods given Roman names and Roman features; sometimes the strange faith was bodily transported to Rome or to Roman cities, where the worship was continued in its original form. More remarkable was the support given to foreign religions even when not borrowed from. The most noteworthy illustration of this is that of Herod, who rebuilt the temple of the Jews at Jerusalem, with the hope of making both himself and his nation popular with the chosen race. This was strictly in keeping with the

Roman treatment of religion as a political element rather than as a source of personal feeling or gratification. The rebuilding of the temple was a piece of astute politics on the part of Herod, who spent a very large sum of money for a religious purpose, though actuated by no religious motives.

III.

Christianity differed from paganism in being a religion of the people. The small temples of Greece and Rome were not intended for anything but shelters for the statues of the gods, and convenient treasuries for gifts of the pious and the moneys of the state. Christianity required buildings that were large enough to accommodate a considerable number. Actual worship by the people was a part of the outward forms of Christianity, which in this differed essentially from paganism. This fundamental fact of Christian worship is of the utmost importance in the history of architecture, since to it is due the evolution of the Christian church building, with its wonderful accompaniments, in the middle ages, of richly designed subsidiary arts. The earliest buildings of the Christians gave no indication of this later stage, but were small, insignificant structures, sometimes not more than a single room, where a few could gather together and practice a simple form of worship, that, like the structure itself, gave no hint of the elaborate forms and ceremonies of later times.

Originating in the private room, the Christian church naturally advanced to the private basilica or oratorical hall forming part of the residence of every wealthy Roman and in which it first found typical and permanent expression. This consisted of an oblong apartment divided by two rows of columns into a nave and aisles. Situated in the centre of a private residence windows were inadmissible in the side walls, and light could only be obtained through an aperture in the roof or in windows cut in the wall of the nave carried above the height of the aisles. The transition from this structure to the public basilica was easy, and was

made with comparatively few changes. When this had been accomplished the Church found itself possessed of a real type of structure which formed the basis of all future Christian church buildings.

Christianity was an indoor religion; buildings were essential to its growth; architecture became its necessary accompaniment. The enclosed buildings of the Christians were typical of the fundamental principles of Christian faith. They had ample space for large congregations, and the church proper was extended by the narthex and atrium, one or both, as the case might be, where both Christian and pagan freely mingled with each other, and where the latter may perhaps often have become acquainted with the new religion, from the free and public discussions held in them. The early churches were not open to all, full membership and baptism being requisite for admission at all times and to all services. Even catechumens were confined to a part near the entrance, and at the celebration of the Eucharist those not in full communion were compelled to retire.

The Christians had erected church buildings of considerable magnitude prior to the conversion of Constantine, but this event marks the real beginning of Christian art. Nothing could have been more marked than the difference between the appearance of the early Christian church and the heathen temple. The one was plain and forbidding without, with rough walls, broken with a few small windows, the whole poor and unimposing, a small round tower, which, like the church, was without ornamentation, forming the single exterior feature. The other was light and graceful in form, ornamented with columns of fine workmanship and decorated with rich sculptures.[1] Yet the lowness and solidity

[1] Several of the Roman basilicas, and one or two other churches built under the especial patronage of the emperors, were very large and splendid buildings, notably S. Peter's, S. Paul's, and S. John Lateran, dating from the IV c., which, notwithstanding many changes and alterations, we know to have been originally buildings of great size and magnificence. A recent restoration of the ancient basilica of S. Peter's, by Mr. H. W. Brewer (*The Builder*, Jan. 2, 1892), retaining in the XV c. the chief characteristics given it by Constantine, shows an elaborate group of buildings which, while without the grace and

of the one expressed a truth and purpose wanting in the other. The Christian church offered as much difference to the pagan edifice within as without. Whatever means the builders possessed were lavished on the interior. Rich mosaics on backgrounds of burnished gold gave a brilliancy to the walls that could have been had by no other ornament. At the farthest extremity was a semicircular apse where on curved benches sat the bishop and higher clergy as previously in the same place had sat the Roman judge and the assessors in the Roman legal basilica. Before these seats was the altar under a ciborium, with curtains drawn during the celebration of the Eucharist. A low wall separated the choir from the body of the church, and on either side were pulpits or ambones, from which was read the Epistle and the Gospel. A semicircular arch opened into the apse, and above was a great figure of Christ surrounded by His Apostles or by angels; His hand extended in benediction toward the people below.

This arrangement of the interior, its furniture and decoration, marks a distinctly different religious system from any yet practised. The nave and aisles, divided in a suitable manner, afforded accommodations for the congregation, the men on one side, the women on the other or in the galleries above.[1] However the arrangements differed in minor re-

beauty of the Roman temple, and differing from it wholly in style, might, in magnitude, compare very well with some of the great pagan edifices. But this was an exceptional structure, and the probable average type of early Christian church may better be looked for in the stone churches of Syria, dating from the IV to the VII c., or in the churches of Ravenna, than in the buildings of Rome itself. See De Vogüé: *Syrie centrale arch. civile et relig. du premier au septième siècle de notre ère*, 2 vols.

[1] The subdivision of sexes and persons was carried out to a considerable extent in the early basilicas. The women were on the right or epistle side, the men on the left; catechumens of both sexes were assigned places behind the full communicants. The penitents were confined to a space near the door. When there were galleries, which were not common in the West, widows were given one side and young women vowed to a religious life the other. The atrium was open to pagan and Christian alike. In the Coptic churches of Egypt the division of sexes was across the church instead of longitudinal, the men being near the altar, the women near the door, the division being made by a screen. See Butler: *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884.

spects, the necessities of the people, the worshippers, received careful attention. It was for them that the church was planned and built. It was for them the walls were decorated with paintings and mosaics, which told tales of truth and pointed lessons that would otherwise have been taught with difficulty. The new religion needed but the opportunity to make for itself architectural forms and features that were characteristic of its faith and its worship. By this radical departure from pagan architecture, and the characteristic manner in which it brought new forms to its own use, it emphasized its individuality and rendered it impossible for the people to find traces of the old faith in the structures dedicated to the new, a condition not to be despised in the early ages of Christianity.

The great Roman basilicas as we know them now—S. Paul without the walls, S. Marie Maggiore, S. Clement, or the gigantic church of S. Sophia at Constantinople, constructed in another style and on another system—were far from expressing the ideal of Christian architecture. The Christian architect had not yet realized his power nor the possibilities of expressing his faith in stone. The use of pagan symbols, of pagan decorations, and the modification of pagan ideas continued long after the Church had freed itself from the influence of heathenism. Columns, capitals, and entablatures from pagan edifices were wrought into the fabric of Christian churches. Economical as this method was, it perpetuated heathen forms for a longer period than would have been possible had the use of these things been forbidden. The Church, however, knew its strength; it knew that with the peculiar individual form of its buildings it might employ the entire structure of a heathen temple without recalling too vividly heathen ideas. It knew the solid foundation on which the faith of its members rested, and thus, even in its very earliest days, did not hesitate to employ the images of pagan deities as symbols of Christ himself and illustrative of its own stories and faith. Though the identity of these early Christian paintings with pagan ones has been denied, and the resemblance claimed to be

more accidental than real, there could have been no uncertainty in it. To the pagan inquirer, the sight of his own familiar gods on the walls of a Christian chapel would have shown him that, perhaps, the new religion was not so directly opposed to his own as he had been led to suppose. The Christian was enabled to extract equal comfort from the same spectacle, since it would indicate, in a measure, the continuity of all religions and the ultimate triumph of Christ over the inspirations of the evil one.

The Roman basilica, typified by the church of S. Paul's without the walls, and the Byzantine church of S. Sophia, at Constantinople, represent two very different phases of church architecture, yet both systems aimed to accomplish the same thing and fulfil the same purpose. The idea of the Christian church, as has already been pointed out, was to provide ample space for the congregation, and the early Christian custom of dividing the sexes and the members into various ranks, each with their own position, necessitated more room than would have been necessary had all been mixed indiscriminately together. In the West space was secured by building large oblong rooms, in which width was acquired by the addition of aisles.[1] In the East, the domical system of architecture, practised from immemorial times by the Assyrians and other people of Mesopotamia, naturally suggested the square, with an inscribed circle, the base of the dome, as the plan on which the architect should work. Although the square church is much more common in the East than in the West, the former is not without churches in which the elongated plan of the oblong basilica can be traced. In no instance is this more evident than in S. Sophia where the central square or circle of the dome is ex-

[1] The oblong form is not the only one adopted for churches in the West. S. Pietro-e-Marcellino at Rome, attributed to Constantine, and S. George at Salonica, supposed to date from the same time, are simple rotundas. S. Costanza at Rome (IV c.), is a rotunda surrounded by a circular passage. Baptisteries were frequently of circular form, as at Ravenna and Milan. *Cf.* Planat: *Encyclopédie de l'architecture et de la construction*, art. *Arch. relig.* De Fleury: *Le Messe*, *tom.* iii., 167–169, gives a list of plans of primitive churches with diagrams.

tended by means of semi-domes until a large area has been obtained that is recognizably oblong in form though with semicircular appendages. The Eastern Church, illustrated in S. Sophia at Constantinople, and S. Vitale at Ravenna, gives no indication of the cruciform shape which was afterwards universally adopted in the West. The adoption of the cross as the ground plan of Western cathedrals was a legitimate evolution of the basilican type. In the basilicas the transepts which formed the arms of the cross were undeveloped. Sometimes they were absent, at others they were insignificant or internal only, and there was no eastern arm, the apse being applied to the nave immediately beyond the transept. The plan of the basilica is, in fact, a T and not a cross. It was reserved for later times to thus freely express the symbol of salvation in the form of the church building. It should be remarked, however, that there is not the smallest ground for supposing that the cruciform plan bears any relation to the cross of Christ or has Christian significance.[1] It would, perhaps, add an additional interest to religious architecture if it could be maintained that the cross did actually become the basis of the church building, just as it became the symbol of the Founder of the Church. The cross of the ground plan of the church edifice developed

[1] There is no more popular delusion in architecture than that the cross of Christ was deliberately selected as the plan of the church building. A study of the conditions under which the churches were erected shows how totally without foundation such an opinion is. Not only were round and oblong churches built in the West from the earliest times, but a comparison of a series of church plans, and a study of the development of ritual demonstrates that the latter was the chief cause in finally determining the cruciform plan. Even more preposterous is the idea that a deviation of the choir towards one side, noticeable in some churches, symbolizes the inclination of the body of Christ hanging on the cross. The building of churches extended over considerable periods of time in the middle ages, and it needs no symbolic explanation for slight irregularities in structures built at different epochs. Doubtless it is possible to design a church in which various doctrines and traditions shall be symbolized or represented in the architecture, but the work of the middle ages is too spontaneous, too extended, and too easily accounted for by common-sense means to render such reasons necessary. Dehio & Bezold: *Die Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1884–88. Three parts published, give a very complete series of plans and sections of churches from the earliest times.

under the influence of constructional and ritualistic requirements. Primarily the transepts were used by the singers of the choir. When the choir became a part of the structure and was limited to a portion of the nave enclosed within walls, they were taken by the congregation. From them good views could be had of the altar, and the worshipper was enabled to take a more interested part in the services than when forced to keep at a distance. More room than the narrow aisles could supply was needed here, and this was given by the transepts. The extension of the nave beyond the transepts, forming the so-called eastern arm, originated likewise in ritualistic requirements. Greater space was needed for the ceremonial functions of the church, and this was obtained without encroaching upon the portion reserved for the people by extending the church beyond the transepts.

The record of the evolution of the mediæval church building from the earliest form to the most complex is a story of constructional change, of progress in mechanical methods, of adopting fresh materials and new ideas to old systems. Rich and elaborate as were the ceremonies of the church in later times, the great cathedrals of the middle ages contain few ritualistic features which were not to be found in idea at least in the early Christion churches. Primarily the needs of worship were simple enough. The altar, at which the priest first celebrated the communion facing the congregation,[1] the seats of the bishop and clergy, the choir or place

[1] Mr. G. G. Scott in *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture*, pp. 14–23, contends that the position of the priest was facing the east, irrespective of the direction of the congregation. He gives a list of "about forty churches [in Rome] of early date, or giving evidence of the preservation of early arrangements, in which, contrary to the mediæval or modern rule, the sanctuary is placed at the western end of the buildings, as against seven of distinctly early date arranged upon the more modern plan" (p. 20). He sites the *arcosolia* of the Catacombs, which could only be used as altars by the priest standing with his back to the people, as further evidence. Rohault de Fleury, *Le Messe*, *tom.* iii., 146, points out the influence of the eastern position in determining the orientation of the Christian church, but gives ample evidence (*tom.* i. 51, *et seq.*) of the early custom of standing behind the altar. While it is quite true the *arcosolia* necessitated the priest's standing in front of them,

for inferior clergy, singers and attendants, reading desks for the epistle and gospel and a pulpit comprised a programme that even in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries had few additions. Such changes as were made were due to an elaboration of ritual, not to the introduction of new forms of worship or the addition of new dogmas to Christian faith. The choirs were enlarged to give more room to those who had place within them.[1] Chapels were built between the buttresses of the side walls and around the apse and in the XIVth century became a marked feature of the church. Aisles or ambulatories were carried around the choir for processions and great functions. The Lady Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, was placed at the extreme east end of the building, and in English churches was often of great size and beauty. It is more characteristic of English churches than of French, because in France very many of the cathedrals, as Senlis, Noyon, Paris, Laon, Chartres, Soissons, Rouen, Amiens, Reims, Coutances, Bayeux, Evreux, and Seès, were dedicated to Mary.

Christian architecture reached its fullest development in the north of Europe, where civilization might be said to be coëval with the growth of Christianity, where the thought of the people and their work were less affected by the cultured paganism of Greece and Rome, and where art could take a fresher, more original, more Christian form than where it was constantly in contrast with heathen productions. It was under such circumstances that the great Gothic cathedrals of northern Europe were built, and it is interesting to notice that though in a certain sense they

three other kinds of altars, the portable, the isolated, and placed against the wall, have been found in the Catacombs, leaving any argument drawn from the *arcosolia* alone of doubtful value. *Cf.* De Fleury : *Le Messe, tom.* i., 103.

[1] In Canterbury cathedral, a church with two pairs of transepts, the choir is of vast extent, extending from the apse to the westernmost transepts. The altar is placed well forward, with considerable space behind it, formerly filled with the episcopal throne and the shrine of S. Thomas à Becket. The cathedral of Reims has likewise an immense choir which extends beyond the transepts into the nave. As at Canterbury, there is a large open space behind the altar. It is interesting to note this common characteristic in the metropolitan churches of England and France.

were the product of the barbaric north, though the ancestors of their immediate builders were plunged into the deepest depths of ignorance and heathendom, it was here that the greatest of all Christian edifices were built. From its environment the Gothic style fully warrants the name of Christian.

IV.

The XIth century is the beginning of the greatest revival in architecture the world has seen, a revival, it is well to note in the present connection, due to the inspiring influence of Christianity. The fiction long popular in historical and philosophical circles, that the people of Europe were widely and generally alarmed at the supposed approaching end of the world in the year 1000 is no longer admissible.[1] It is true enough that almost immediately after this date great activity is to be noted in architecture all over Europe, but the reason for this activity is not to be found in any feeling of relief at having escaped the terrors of the Last Judgment. The preceding centuries had been centuries of Christian growth ; the strength of the Church and the people had been exhausted in diffusing a knowledge of the new faith, and in recovering from the disorders attendant upon the break up of the Roman empire. At the beginning of the XIth century, not only had Christianity become deeply rooted in western Europe, but society was more settled, governments more stable, arts more developed, education, perhaps not more universal, but more widely distributed. It was the political and social condition of Europe, rather than any feeling concerning the Last Judgment that brought about the architectural revival of this time. This and the monks.

It is well nigh impossible to exaggerate the value of the services the monks rendered humanity in the past. Their services to architecture are the same as they were to other forms of culture, and the architectural history of the XIth century would have been very different

[1] On this point consult Quicherat, *De l'Architecture romane*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'historie*, Paris, 1886, for architectural evidence.

from what it was, had it not been for the extraordinary development of the building art among them. It is safe to say that Gothic architecture would never have been so thoroughly developed, would never have penetrated from France, where it originated, to England, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and even to Sweden and Norway, and have retained such general similarity of form and style, had it not been for the monks, who with their systems of communication and visitations, and energy as architects and builders, devised a persistent form of art that to but a limited extent shows the influence of the very varied environments in which it flourished. All the monastic orders had characteristic buildings, but it is to the Cistercians the world is chiefly indebted for the distribution of Gothic architecture.[1] They were the greatest monastic builders, and were one of the prime causes in the revival of the XIth century.

The buildings of the monks were not churches alone, but vast establishments that provided food and shelter for large numbers of people, and included within their walls, farms, factories, workshops, and gave labor and sustenance to the inmates without the help of the outer world. Most of these great groups of buildings have disappeared, and such as remain exist in a fragmentary state, but many of the churches still testify to the greatness of the establishments and the genius of the builders.[2] Not only did abbeys, priories, and other monastic establishments each have its own church, but great cathedrals were built under monastic rule. This was especially the case in England, where many of the more important cathedrals were under the special care of some one of the orders.

The secular clergy looked with a jealous eye upon the encroachments of the monks on popular favor, as illustrated in the magnificent structures they erected. The great French bishops especially endeavored to surpass them,

[1] *Cf.* Prof. Frothingham's interesting and valuable series of papers on the *Introduction of Gothic Architecture into Italy by the French Cistercian Monks*, now publishing in the *American Journal of Archæology*.

[2] Dugdale: *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 8 vols.; Courajod: *Le monasticon Gallicanum*, Paris, 1869.

and the cathedrals which quickly sprang up in all the chief cities of France were expressions of the growing power of the secular clergy. The age was in every respect an architectural one; popular enthusiasm centred in the art. Municipalities vied with one another in the erection of monumental churches. No effort was too much, no work too stupendous, no toil too arduous if it was required to complete the structure that was to be the crowning glory of the city, and an enduring monument to the piety of the state and its love for God. This feeling was eagerly encouraged by the French bishops as an offset to the power of the orders. Chartres, Laon, S. Denis, were churches in which the record of popular interest and fervor have been preserved to our day.[1] In Italy there was a similar movement in the civil pride of the cities in their cathedrals.[2] The history of architecture in the middle ages is a most inspiring illustration of the inspiring influence of religion in architecture.

The masons who were the successors of the monastic builders were another important element in this great revival. Their brotherhoods and communications with other bodies in distant parts were prime causes in hastening the mechanical development of architecture, and they were especially instrumental in carrying identical ideas of construction and of art all over Europe. The general similarity of the Gothic throughout Europe is readily traceable to them and their predecessors the monks.[3]

[1] As to Chartres see Bulteau: *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 2d ed., Chartres, 1887–91, *tom.* i., 118 *et seq.*

[2] Norton: *Historical Studies of Church-Building in the Middle Ages*, New York.

[3] Gothic architecture is now admitted to be of religious origin, as opposed to lay influences. It is, of course, impossible to speak of the invention of Gothic architecture: it was not an invention, but was a growth, an evolution, a union of varied characteristics, which are first found in common in a religious structure, the abbey church of Morienval. See Gonse: *L'Art Gothique*, Paris. His chapter on the *Origin of the Pointed Style* is most admirable. For the influence of the lay workers, see p. 142. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, art. *Architecture* attributes the beginnings of Gothic to the lay element.

It is not the adaptability of the building to the service of the church that is the most conspicuous feature in the mediæval cathedral, nor even the splendor of the ritual it suggests, but the expression of religious thought, of Christian faith and hope, of trust in God, and love for Christ. Architecture was more than simple building; it was an intellectual expression. All forms of art were pressed into its service: painting, sculpture, mosaic, inlay, work in iron, bronze, lead, and other metals, gold, silver, and precious stones. The product of the gold-beater, the jeweller, the carver in wood, all had architectural form that helped to make the age the most architectural in the history of art. These subsidiary arts served both to express the architecture and to ornament it, and to express the Christian ideas which underlay the whole edifice. It was fortunate that architecture thus widened its scope and included all forms of art within its field. The buildings were not simple arrangements of columns, vaults, walls, windows, and other architectural features. They were loaded with sculpture in the capitals, string courses, bosses, window- and door-jambs, wherever a stone could be carved it was cut and made a portion of a living unity. While it cannot be said that each individual piece of sculpture was an expression of the carver's religious faith, the work, as a whole, was permeated by a thorough Christian feeling and a genuine piety that has seldom been so beautifully illustrated. In no part of the cathedral building was sculpture employed so freely as in the porches of the doors, and especially in the great western porch.

Christian architecture reached its culmination in the French cathedrals of the XIIIth century: in S. Denis, Chartres, Paris, Reims, Bourges, Beauvais, Rouen, Amiens Christianity put forth its mightiest effort in art and made its greatest successes. There is an immense contrast between the basilica and the cathedral, both architecturally and from the standpoint of Christianity. The early Christian church was a low small building, without especial external features. The cathedral was the largest structure in

the city. It was frequently placed on an elevation, and the houses of the people clustered around it as if to gain protection from its proximity.[1] The plan was markedly cruciform: two mighty transepts, with fronts scarcely less imposing than the vast western façade, formed the arms of the cross. The eastern arm was likewise well marked, but its chief glory was the cluster of chapels surrounding the apse with their wonderful external and internal perspective and their buttresses, flying buttresses, pinnacles, and gargoyles. The body of the church consisted of a nave with one or two aisles on either side, and beyond these a series of chapels, making the view across the church almost as rich and imposing as the view towards the altar; while the climax to the whole was the vault, built at a higher level than man had heretofore placed a roof.

In the cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Paris no less than thirty-eight piers support the roof of the church west of the transepts, the total number of columns and piers springing from the floor amounting to eighty-three. In the cathedral of Bourges, which, like Nôtre Dame, is a five aisled church, sixty columns and piers are required to support the vaulting.[2] But it was not in width, nor in number of the columns alone the cathedral impressed the eye: the vaulting was placed at a height far exceeding any roof before devised by man. The vault of the cathedral of Amiens is 147 feet above the floor, that of Cologne 155 feet, and that of Beauvais 157 feet. Nothing more stupendous than these lofty vaults has been built by human hands, and even the

[1] This refers more especially to France, where the cathedral was frequently at the actual centre of the city, or upon the highest point. In England the cathedral is more generally on the outskirts of the city, apart from the noise and bustle of daily life. The French cathedrals were people's churches; the English were, many of them, monastic churches, and thus quite outside ordinary daily existence.

[2] These figures include only the main piers springing from the floor and standing free, without walls behind them. Bourges cathedral (Barreau: *Description de la cathédrale*, Chateauroux, 1885) contains 2,662 columns, columnettes, and clustered columns. Upwards of 4,350 human figures are employed in its ornamentation, of which 1,700 are statues or statuettes, and 2,950 painted on glass.

spaces of the great domes of the Renaissance, of S. Peter's at Rome, of the Duomo at Florence, or of S. Paul's at London, are scarcely superior to them in impressiveness of effect.

It is hardly necessary to point out that churches with such prodigious dimensions within must have appeared not less tremendous without, and indeed the vast bulk of the mediæval cathedrals, and their almost overpowering immensity, are not their least important features. Christianity was no longer forced to conduct its services in humble retired edifices utterly devoid of external character and ornament, wherein it seemed to hide rather than to flourish. Its churches are now the most stupendous edifices in the land, and their external features are not less imposing and elaborate than their interiors. The former was now a full expression and growth of the latter, in place of a box-like covering characteristic of the basilicas. Lofty towers finished with spires marked the main front and gave it dignity. In France there was an elaborate system of towers, which unfortunately was never carried to completion in any church. In the cathedral of Laon the towers rise to a height sufficient to give an idea of what a mediæval cathedral would have been like had they all been completed. The plan included seven towers, two on the main front, and two on each of the transept fronts, with a small spire or *flèche* over the central crossing, though sometimes two towers were added beyond the transepts, making nine in all. English cathedrals do not show such a symmetrical arrangement. In England it is the central tower which is most distinctly marked and the most conspicuous feature of the exterior. Towers were not wanting on the front, as at Lichfield, but with the exception of the central lantern, they were not often important parts of the cathedral design. Of the French cathedrals Chartres alone, of the churches of the first rank, has its western towers completed in a manner worthy of the building. The cathedrals of Paris, of Reims, and of Amiens all have unfinished western towers.

If Gothic architecture was not the product of a natural growth, it would be easy to find symbolic references to the Trinity and to Christ in the designs of the west fronts of the French cathedrals. The French architects lavished all their resources on their main fronts, and made them typical of the church behind. It is a singular coincidence, though only the growth of natural constructive influences, that the figure three, the symbol of Trinity, should be thoroughly marked in the façade. Three elements, the nave flanked on either side by a tower, form the basis of the design. The most important features of the front are three lofty and deeply recessed portals, one in the centre and one under each tower, ornamented with a profusion of sculpture, and which by their wide open thresholds seem to invite the multitude to enter, and are, in truth, true entrances, not insignificant doors as in English cathedrals. Vertically the front is also divided into three parts, the portals forming one, while above, another section includes the great bull's eye, or rose window—a characteristic French feature that received most wonderful treatment,—in the centre of the nave, with other windows in the towers. Over all runs a gallery, forming the third part, which is carried around the towers across the nave, binding the whole edifice into one complete harmonious design. The elements are simple enough, but the architects of the Ile-de-France produced fronts of wonderful variety with no more extensive materials than this, and it is not the least remarkable feature of these cathedrals, that though composed of essentially the same materials, the façades exhibit a marked diversity and individuality. It is needless to ask if Gothic architecture, had not its growth been interrupted, would have produced more effective designs, whether enlarged materials would not have given its artists more extended scope; it is sufficient that with these almost elementary ideas it produced most successful work.

The church building was but a part of a whole wherein the mediæval Christian sought to express his religious convictions. The age was architectural, not only that architec-

tural forms and ideas were prevalent in every kind of art, but because all arts were brought into the service of architecture. It was in their architectural application as ornaments of the church building or as part of the structure itself that the allied arts reached their greatest perfection, obtained at the same time their greatest utility, their most refined beauty. Two forms of art stand out in the architecture of the middle ages both from the superior technical treatment they received and the masterly manner in which they exhibit Christian ideas. These are sculpture and painting on glass. The art of painting on glass is exclusively mediæval; it originated, reached its culmination, and declined in the middle ages. It is an art of the North, where the cold, damp climate necessitated large windows, that the buildings be well lighted by the sun. Whether the use of painted glass had any effect on the increase in the size of the windows shown in the progress of Gothic architecture may perhaps be doubted,[1] but the mediæval architect did not conceive a finer idea than a vast clearstory of large windows filled with glass glowing with brilliant colors. No more superb decoration has been invented by human hands than this: mosaic and painting pale before its dazzling hues. No cathedral to-day retains in its entirety the glass with which its windows were filled, but enough has survived the vicissitudes of war and disturbance to show how incomparable must have been the effect of a great church filled with it. The architecture was a frame of exquisite workmanship wherein were placed jewels of unsurpassed brilliancy. The painted windows were useful as well as ornamental in affording opportunities for telling sacred stories and truths in a pictorial manner intelligible to all. In the absence of books and, indeed, of any general popular knowledge, some means of common instruction was necessary, and there was no better or more effective way of accomplishing this end than by the scenes represented on

[1] *Cf.* Sir G. G. Scott: *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture*, London, 1879, ii., p. 63.; Moore: *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*, London, 1890, p. 69.

the windows, and in the sculptures with which the churches were decorated.[1]

Next to architecture sculpture was the most important art of northern mediæval Europe, and especially of France, where it developed more rapidly than in Italy. Exteriorly and interiorly the French architects employed sculpture in the greatest profusion both as an architectural adjunct and as illustrative of Christian doctrine. In England its use was comparatively limited. The front of Wells cathedral contains a remarkable series of sculptures, and in some of the other cathedrals it is found to a slight extent, but nowhere in England did it receive the intelligent application it had in France, where it not only strengthened the construction and increased the appearance of solidity, but set forth simple truths and doctrines in a manner that could be understood by the most ignorant. An art which could thus bring home the truths of the Gospels and of the Church to minds that could learn of them in no other way, fully

[1] The finest painted glass in Europe may be briefly summarized thus: Chartres cathedral contains nearly all the original glass in its 175 windows. Most of it dates from the XIII c.; two windows are from the XII c., eight from the XIV, one from the XV, two from the XVI. Le Mans, choir, aisle, and clear-story, XIII c., contains in one of the apsidal chapels the most ancient known example, dating from the XI c. The rose windows of the transepts of Amiens are very fine. Angers has some magnificent XII c. windows in the nave, and XIII in the choir. The glass of the choir of Tours, XIII c., is complete and of marvellous beauty. Bourges contains much magnificent XIII c. glass in the eastern part of the church, and also some fine examples of the XIV, XV, and XVI c. Limoges has some good glass of the XIV and XVI c. Troyes has some XIII, XV, and XVI c. Reims also has some superb windows, and the Ste Chappelle, partly XIII and XV c., at Paris, is extremely well known. The French cathedrals contain much more and much finer painted glass than the English. The beauty of the XIII c. glass is its intense rich coloring, not the drawing of the design, though this is of marvellous complexity and ingenuity. The intensity of color, especially when the glass is seen at its best, with the sun shining directly through it, has never been reproduced. Several of the French cathedrals contain modern imitations of the ancient windows that are melancholy examples of modern workmanship. Reproductions of painted glass may be found in Cahier et Martin: *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841–44; Hucher: *Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, Le Mans, 1864; Lasteyrie: *Hist. de la peinture sur verre d'après ses monuments en France*, Paris, 1853–57; Schaefer and Rosstenscher: *Ornamentale Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1888.

merited the wonderful development it received at the hands of the mediæval sculptors.

Sculpture reached its highest development in the choir screen and the portals. The history of the choir screen is a most interesting study in evolution. Originally, in the basilica, designed as a means of separating the inferior clergy and singers from the congregation—a signification it has retained to the present day—it was a simple low wall, whose richest ornamentation was a geometrical design in mosaic, and whose most imposing features were the ambones or reading-desks for the Gospel and Epistle, which formed part of their construction. In the mediæval cathedral this simple structure had grown from these elementary proportions to massive walls of stone or marble, often ten or fifteen feet in height, and ornamented with elaborate sculptures and other decorations, the whole forming an architectural combination of the most impressive kind. Here the mediæval artist told the story of the patron saint of the church, or set forth the episodes in the life of the Virgin, or depicted some Scripture incident in forcible and effective sculptures. Perhaps the most famous of these works, and certainly the most beautiful and elaborate, though dating from the XVth to the beginning of the XVIIIth century, is the choir screen of the cathedral of Chartres, representing scenes from the lives of Jesus and the Virgin. A long series of designs enclosed in an architectural framework of arches, pinnacles, and tracery of almost lace-like delicacy extends around the choir. The cathedral of Amiens has a screen with similar, though less numerous, sculptures, illustrating the story of S. Firmin, the patron saint of Amiens, and the life of S. John the Baptist. Nothing more useful and beautiful than these screens, which exhibited, in language that all could understand, the truths of the Bible and of the Church, is to be found in the whole range of Gothic art. With their graphic illustrations of sacred themes they offer a marked contrast to the walls of the choirs in English churches, which are chiefly ornamented with monuments to departed individuals or with

Gothic tracery, which, while beautiful in itself, is quite without the real living Christian interest of the French screens.

The Christian who could thus study noteworthy events in sacred history in the vivid sculptures of the choir screens found further sources of instruction and pious thought in the sculptures which adorned the portals of the church. It was on the doorway that the French artists lavished the utmost resources of their skill and gave freest scope to their inventive genius. In one of his most characteristic but fragmentary essays Mr. Ruskin has graphically told the story of the sculptures on the west front of Amiens cathedral, showed their meaning, given the names of the almost innumerable statues, and explained how the whole forms a wonderful combination of Christian history and doctrine, dogma and belief. Its title, *The Bible of Amiens*, is a most picturesque and truthful description of what the French mediæval cathedrals really were. They were more than mere churches, more than mere places for the display of priestly ritual, for elaborate ceremonies, and imposing functions. They were the centre of the life of the city, the places of popular resort, the most conspicuous feature of the town. They were epitomes of the culture and thought of the time. Here alone was found education and ideas, and here the people came for inspiration, not only of purely spiritual things, but of the intellect. The churches were in truth mighty Bibles, sources of instruction and light in a time when just such illustration was needed. It is impossible to study these monumental milestones in the history of humanity without feeling that the light these buildings disseminated was of a wholesome and manly nature. One cannot come from studying them without gaining renewed confidence in the people and in the religion that produced them, in the faith that gave them being.

Like the entire façade, the portals were designed on an elementary basis. Sometimes the outer opening was flush with the main walls of the church, sometimes they projected beyond it, while in occasional instances, as the lat-

eral doorways of Chartres cathedral, they are prefaced with a porch. The entrance was deeply recessed, the columns supporting the arches forming the roof having statues in front of them or between them. The whole design was in a measure subordinate to the central sculpture in the tympanum over the door, or perhaps it would be more proper to say, all the sculptures led up to this central feature. Various subjects occupied this space, the most usual being a representation of the Last Judgment. No single piece of sculpture of the middle ages is more impressive than the Last Judgment of the great portals. The entire doorway is, in fact, given up to representing this most awful event in Christian theology, which effectively warns all of the wrath to come and the dangers of a worldly life. The scenes of the Last Judgment itself are shown on the tympanum, but the entire inner surface of the arches that form the portal is covered with figures of cherubim and angels, the hosts of heaven, who appropriately occupy the most lofty position. Sometimes scenes from the life of the Virgin, or some other events in sacred or legendary history fill the tympanum, but the Last Judgment is the topic most often employed and the most appropriate. Though of very great variety and individuality, there is much similarity in all these conceptions which are widely distributed in the Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and churches of Europe.

Christ, the Judge of the world, is enthroned above, with S. John and the Virgin, or attendant angels, on either side. Below, the centre is occupied by an angel weighing the souls of the departed. On one side is a hideous Satan, ready to seize the condemned, and who hands them to his minions behind him, who pass them on to the fiery pit, represented by a cauldron over a fire vigorously fanned by devils with bellows. On the other side are the blessed, and in the lowest division the dead rise from their tombs. It is a close and graphic transcription of the scene described in the Gospels.

V.

Thus the Church taught the truths committed to its care; thus the Christian was reminded of the cardinal facts of his religion in all the parts of his church building. The structure itself, not less than its decoration, made one great whole that was the product of Christian ideas, the outcome of Christian faith, the expression of Christian truth. It may, perhaps, be going too far to point to the great monuments of Christian architecture as evidences of revealed religion, but it is impossible to study these works of art in the light of Christian history and experience without being convinced of the absolutely genuine piety and Christian feeling that called them into being. It is thoroughly in keeping with natural laws that Christianity should have freely expressed itself in architecture, but it is scarcely short of marvellous that it should have done so in so thorough a manner and with such stupendous results. It is one of the chief glories of Gothic architecture as practised in the middle ages that it can be studied not alone as the visible expression of a great intellectual movement, but as the typical representative of the most active religious impulse that has animated mankind.

It should not be forgotten that the monuments of Christian art, whether they be architecture, painting, or sculpture, are the common heritage of every Christian. The great mediæval cathedrals do not belong to any one part of the Church, or call it branch, or division, if you will. Built at a time when there was no schism in the Western Church, they clearly express the western conception of Christianity. As such they form fit subjects of study to the believing Christian not less than to the architect and the student. They are invaluable epitomes of the progress of the human mind and the growth of Christian ideas at a time of which we have few other memorials. And this is what I mean by the value of Christian thought in architecture, and why I venture to lay this aspect of the question before a company of theological scholars.

The indication of Christian thought in architecture is no fanciful product of the imagination. Christianity, its forms, doctrines, ceremonies, lay at the foundation of Christian church architecture; its influence upon the art was persistent and marked until the beginning of the Renaissance. It is not something that needs to be searched out, for it exists in the most evident manner. Christianity exercised quite as much influence upon the development of architecture as did progress in construction, or the social and political state of the builders. Apart from this, the study of architecture from this standpoint directs attention to the wonderful illustration of Christian ideas in the great churches of the XIIIth century, in which the architectural manifestation of Christianity reached its culmination. Yet it is well to remember the limitations; Christianity then received its most complete architectural form, but this was not because it had reached its highest stage of development as a religion or as a social factor. The era in which this point was reached was, as has been shown, an architectural one. The art quality was of unsurpassed refinement, but it was due to the nature of the time, to the especial things which occupied the minds of the people, and other characteristics that formed the distinctive civilization of the age. Christianity as a religion unquestionably inspired architects, sculptors, and painters to put forth their best efforts and eclipse all known ideals; but it was because art and religion both held a greater share of popular thought in the middle ages than at any other time, that Christian architecture of the form and style known as Gothic so thoroughly and completely illustrates Christian ideas.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF CALVIN AND MELANCHTHON

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When God has a great work to do in his kingdom on earth he trains and associates congenial agents of different gifts, but of one spirit and aim, to carry out his purposes. They supplement and encourage one another and accomplish much more in unison than they could in isolation. Moses and Aaron, David and Jonathan, in the history of Israel; Paul and Barnabas, Peter and Mark, in apostolic times; Pamphilius and Eusebius, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, among the fathers; Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli, Occolampadius and Bullinger, Calvin, Farel, Viret, and Beza, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, among the Reformers; the two Wesleys and Whitefield in the Methodist revival; Pusey, Newman and Keble in the Anglo-Catholic movement of our days, will readily occur to the memory as illustrious examples of co-operative friendship for the advancement of God's kingdom.

Such friendships, based upon mutual respect and affection, cemented by the love of Christ, the Lord and Saviour, and devoted to a holy cause, have left a deep impress upon the pages of history, and their memory is an inspiration to succeeding generations. They may be clouded for a time by human infirmity; even Paul and Barnabas fell out on the question of Mark; and Paul and Peter on the deeper question of circumcision and the recognition of Gentile converts. Luther and Melanchthon came near to a break

on the subject of the real presence. But the clouds pass away and the sun shines all the brighter.

In Calvin's life and works, friendship and fraternal co-operation form a prominent and fruitful part. He lived on the best terms with his older colleagues—Farel and Viret—as well as with his pupils—Knox and Beza,—he associated intimately with Grynæus at Basel and Bucer at Strassburg, with Melanchthon at Worms and Ratisbon, and kept up a familiar correspondence with Bullinger of Zurich, Myconius of Basel, and many others. He never lost the confidence and affection of any of his friends. This fact is most honorable to his character, and sufficient to refute the misrepresentation of his enemies.

The friendship between Calvin and Melanchthon has a special interest as they represent two distinct nationalities and Churches. It forms a significant episode in the great drama of the Reformation, and deserves more consideration than it has yet received. I propose to fill out this chapter chiefly from their private correspondence, in which they give us an insight into the interior recesses of their mind and heart. Not many letters are preserved—fourteen letters of Calvin to Melanchthon and eight letters of Melanchthon to Calvin, but they are characteristic and weighty.[1]

Calvin never saw either Zwingli or Luther, who together with him form the trio of productive Reformers. Zwingli died (1531) in the prime of life when Calvin was a youth of twenty-one, pursuing the study of law and theology in the Universities of France. He was brought into indirect contact with Luther, through Bucer and Melanchthon, during his three years' residence in Strassburg, where he was pastor of a congregation of French refugees, and theological teacher

[1] The letters of Melanchthon are printed in Bretschneider's edition of his *Opera (Corpus Reformatorum)*, the letters of both in the admirable Strassburg-Braunschweig edition of Calvin's *Opera*, which has now reached the 46th volume (1891). The original editors—Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss—are dead, but the remaining volumes were prepared in copy by Reuss (as he informed me) and will be edited by Erichson. Herminjard's *Correspondance des Réformateurs* is invaluable, but goes only as far as 1542 (vol. vii., 1886). I have used also Constable's translation of Jules Bonnet's ed. of *Calvin's Letters*.

in the Academy, between 1539 and 1541. Luther was then in his declining years, weary of life and longing for rest. But what little he learned of Calvin impressed him very favorably. He read "with singular delight" his masterly Answer to Cardinal Sadolet, published at Strassburg in 1539, and thanked God that he had raised up such a scholar who was able to continue and finish the war with Antichrist which he had begun twenty-two years before. He sent respectful salutations to Calvin through Bucer,[1] and again through Melanchthon, who informed him that he stood in high favor with Luther.[2] I can find no evidence that Luther read Calvin's *Institutes*, which appeared in a revised edition at Strassburg in 1539, or his irenic tract on the Lord's Supper, which was first published in the same city in 1541. But according to a reliable tradition he saw the latter tract in a bookstore at Wittenberg shortly before his death and expressed a favorable judgment on it, although it differed from his own view on the real presence.[3] It is quite probable that the eucharistic controversy would have taken a more peaceful turn if Luther could have met Calvin instead of Zwingli, whose hand of fellowship offered with tears at Marburg, Luther coldly refused.

Calvin and Melanchthon became personally and intimately acquainted with each other at the Colloquies of Frankfurt, Worms, and Ratisbon, which were held in 1539, '40, and '41, between the leading Protestant and Roman Catholic divines for the purpose of healing the division of the Church and bringing about at least a com-

[1] Oct. 14, 1539 (in De Wette's ed. of *Luther's Correspondence*, vol. v., 211; Herminjard, vi., 130): "*Salutabis Dr. Joannem Sturmium et Joannem Calvinum reverenter, quorum libellos cum singulari voluptate legi*," etc. From what follows it is evident that he meant Calvin's Answer to Sadolet, which is a triumphant vindication of the Reformation and silenced the Cardinal and his scheme to recover Geneva to the Roman Catholic Church during the absence of Calvin, who had been expelled in 1538.

[2] *Lutherus et Pomeranus* [Bugenhagen], *Calvinum et Sturmium jusserunt salutari. Calvinus magnum gratiam iniit.* Quoted by Calvin in a letter to Farel, Nov. 20, 1539, from a lost letter of Melanchthon. See Herminjard, vi., 131.

[3] See Schaff's *Church History*, vi., 660.

promise, or *modus vivendi*, till the meeting of the long-promised and long-delayed General Council. The Emperor was very anxious, for political reasons, to secure that end. Melanchthon was the spokesman of the Lutheran party; Calvin was one of the delegates of the city of Strassburg in company with Bucer and Sturm. Calvin had no confidence in a peaceful result and clearly foresaw the failure of the Colloquies. The controversy had gone too far to be stopped, and had to be fought out to its consequences. The opportunity for a reunion of Christendom was as yet far in the uncertainties of the future. Nevertheless Calvin took an active interest in the proceedings, as far as they were conducted in Latin (for he was not acquainted with German). He was frequently consulted, and showed such learning and ability in debate on the disputed questions, that he commanded the admiration of the Lutheran divines, and that Melanchthon bestowed upon him the emphatic designation "THE THEOLOGIAN," which meant a great deal more in that theological age than it does now. He had in view no doubt the case of St. John and Gregory Nazianzen, who were called "Theologians" for their profound insight into the mystery of the incarnation, but he applied the word in a wider sense. He thought he could less spare Calvin than any other divine, and induced him to delay his return to Geneva, to which he was most urgently recalled by the united voice of the magistrates, clergy, and people.

Melanchthon was twelve years older than Calvin, as Luther was thirteen years older than Melanchthon. Calvin, therefore, might have sustained to Melanchthon the relation of a pupil to a teacher. He sought his friendship, and he always treated him with reverential affection.[1] In the dedication of his commentary on Daniel, he describes Melanchthon as "a man who, on account of his incomparable skill in the most

[1] In a letter of 11 Cal. Maii, 1544 (Calvin's *Opera*, xi., 698), he addresses him as "*ornatissime vir, fidelissime Christi minister, et amice mihi semper honorande. Dominus te semper spiritu suo regat, diuque nobis et ecclesiæ suæ incolumem conservet.*

excellent branches of knowledge, his piety, and other virtues, is worthy of the admiration of all ages." But while Melanchthon was under the overawing influence of the personality of Luther, the Reformer of Geneva was quite independent of Melanchthon, and so far could meet him on equal terms. Melanchthon, in sincere humility and utter freedom from jealousy, even acknowledged the superiority of his younger friend as a theologian and disciplinarian, and, as already stated, called him emphatically "The Theologian."

They had many points of contact. Both were men of uncommon precocity; both excelled, above their contemporaries, in humanistic culture and polished style; both devoted all their learning to the renovation of the Church; they were equally conscientious and unselfish; they agreed in the root of their piety, and in all essential doctrines; they deplored the divisions in the Protestant ranks, and heartily desired unity and harmony if consistent with truth.

But they were differently constituted. Melanchthon was modest, gentle, sensitive, feminine, irenic, elastic, temporizing, always open to new light; Calvin, though by nature as modest, bashful, and irritable, was in principle and conviction firm, unyielding, fearless of consequences, and opposed to all compromises. They differed also on minor points of doctrine and discipline. Melanchthon, from a conscientious love of truth and peace, and from regard for the demands of practical common-sense, independently changed his views on two important doctrines. He abandoned the Lutheran dogma of a corporal and ubiquitous presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, and approached Calvin's theory of a spiritual real, or dynamic presence; and he substituted for his earlier fatalistic view of a divine foreordination of evil as well as good the synergistic scheme which ascribes conversion to the co-operation of three causes: the Spirit of God, the Word of God, and the will of man. He conceded to the will the freedom of either accepting or rejecting the gospel salvation, yet without giving any merit to man for accepting the free gift; and

on this point he dissented from Calvin's more rigorous and logical system.[1]

The sincere and lasting friendship of these two great and good men is therefore all the more remarkable and valuable as a testimony that a deep spiritual union and harmony may co-exist with theological differences.[2]

Calvin and Melanchthon met at Frankfurt, Worms, and Regensburg under trying circumstances. Melanchthon felt discouraged about the prospects of Protestantism. He deplored the confusion which followed the abolition of the episcopal supervision, the want of discipline, the rapacity of the princes, the bigotry of the theologians. He had allowed himself, with Luther and Bucer, to give his conditional assent to the scandalous bigamy of Philip of Hesse (May 1540), which was the darkest blot in the history of the German Reformation, and worse than the successive polygamy of Henry VIII. His conscience was so much troubled about his own weakness that, at Weimar, on his way to the Colloquies at Hagenau and Worms, he was brought to the brink of the grave, and would have died if Luther had not prayed him out of the jaws of the king of terrors. What a contrast between Melanchthon at Worms in 1540, and Luther at Worms in 1521! At the Diet of Regensburg, in 1541, he felt no better. His son was sick, and he dreamed that he had died. He read disaster and war in the stars. His letters to intimate friends are full of grief and anxious forebodings. "I am devoured by a desire for a better life," he wrote to one of them. He was oppressed by a sense of the responsibility that rested upon, him as the spokesman and leader of the German Reformation in the declining years of Luther, who had been formerly his inspiration and strength. It is natural

[1] On these changes, see the biographies of Melanchthon by Galle, Carl Schmidt, and Herrlinger; Gieseler's *Church History;* Schweizer's *Centraldogmen*, i., 380–400; and Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, i., 261 *sqq.*

[2] Merle d'Aubigné (in his *History of the Reformation in the Times of Calvin*, vol. vii., 19) thinks that "esteem was uppermost in Melanchthon, and affection in Calvin"; that "on the one side the friendship was founded more on reflection (*réfléchi*), on the other it was more spontaneous"; but "on both sides it was the product of their noble and beautiful qualities."

that in this condition of mind he looked for a new support, and this he found in Calvin. We thus can easily understand his wish to die in his arms. But Calvin himself, though more calm and composed in regard to public affairs, was deeply distressed at Regensburg by news of the ravages of the pestilence among his friends at Strassburg, besides being harassed by multiplying petitions to return to Geneva. These troubles and afflictions brought their hearts nearer to each other.

In their first personal interview at Frankfurt on the Main, in February, 1539, they at once became intimate, and freely discussed the burning questions of the day, relating to doctrine, discipline, and worship.[1]

As to doctrine, Calvin had previously sent to Melanchthon a summary, in twelve articles, on the crucial topic of the real presence. To these Melanchthon assented without dispute,[2] but confessed that he had no hope of satisfying those who obstinately insisted on a more gross and palpable presence.[3] Yet he was anxious that the present agreement, such as it was, might be cherished until at length the Lord shall lead both sides into the unity of his own truth. This is no doubt the reason why he himself refrained from such a full and unequivocal public expression of his own view as might lead to a rupture in the Lutheran Church. He went as far as he

[1] Calvin wrote to Farel, after his return to Strassburg, at the end of March, 1539 : "*Cum Philippo fuit mihi multis de rebus colloquium.*"

[2] "*Sine controversia ipse assentitur.*" Calvin adds : "*de ipso* (Mel.) *nihil dubita, quin penitus nobiscum sentiat.*" Herminjard, v., 269. In a previous letter to Farel, October, 1538 (in Herminjard, v., 146, and note 24), he informed Farel that he had sent twelve articles of agreement with a letter to Melanchthon from Strassburg. The articles are lost, but may yet be recovered.

[3] "*Sed fatetur, esse in illa parte nonnullos qui crassius aliquid requirant : atque id tanta pervicacia, ne dicam tyrannide, ut diu in periculo fuerit, quod eum videbant a suo sensu nonnihil alienum.*"—Herminjard, v., 269. Those men, who outluthered Luther, were not satisfied with the words of institution, *simpliciter*, but demanded such scholastic terms as *substantialiter*, *essentialiter*, *corporaliter*, *quantitative*, *ubiquitaliter*, *carnaliter*. When Matthæus Zell, preacher in the Minster at Strassburg, told Melanchthon (in 1536) that he abhorred these terms as diabolical additions, Melanchthon assented. See Röhrich, *Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evang. Kirche des Elsasses*, iii., 133, as quoted by Stähelin in his *Johannes Calvin*, i., 169.

deemed prudent, by modifying, probably under the influence of Calvin, the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession, and omitting the anti-Zwinglian clause (1540). Calvin had no difficulty to subscribe this noble Confession as understood by its author.

As to ecclesiastical discipline, Calvin, who was a legislator and disciplinarian as well as a theologian, laid far greater stress on it than the German Reformers, and carried it out in his French congregation at Strassburg and afterwards in Geneva to an extent unknown since the days of the Apostles and the ante-Nicene age. Melanchthon sincerely deplored the want of discipline in Germany, but could see no prospect of improvement till the people would learn to distinguish the yoke of Christ from the papal tyranny.

As to worship, Calvin frankly expressed his objection to many ceremonies, which seemed to him to border too closely on Judaism.[1] He was opposed to chanting in Latin, to pictures and candles in churches, to exorcism in baptism, and the like. Melanchthon was reluctant to discuss this point, but admitted that too many trifling and unnecessary Roman Catholic rites were retained in deference to the judgment of the Canonists, and expressed the hope that some of them would be abandoned by degrees.

After the Colloquy at Regensburg the two Reformers saw each other no more, but continued to correspond as far as their time and multiplicity of duties and the great distance of Wittenberg and Geneva would permit.

The first letter of Calvin after that Colloquy is dated Feb. 16, 1543, and is a lengthy answer to a message from Melanchthon.[2]

"You see," he writes, "to what a lazy fellow you have intrusted your letter. It was full four months before he delivered it to me, and then crushed and rumpled with much

[1] Letter to Farel, April, 1539 (Herminjard, v., 292): "*Nuper Philippo in faciem non dissimulavi quin mihi admodum illa ceremoniarum copia displiceret. Videri enim mihi formam quam tenent non procul esse a Judaismo.*"

[2] In Calvin's *Opera*, xi., 515. Bonnet-Constable, i., 349. The original copy is in Simler's Collection in the City Library of Zurich.

rough usage. But although it has reached me somewhat late, I set a great value upon the acquisition. . . . Would, indeed, as you observe, that we could oftener converse together, were it only by letters. To you that would be no advantage; but to me, nothing in this world could be more desirable than to take solace in the mild and gentle spirit of your correspondence. You can scarce believe with what a load of business I am here burdened and incessantly hurried along; but in the midst of these distractions there are two things which most of all annoy me. My chief regret is, that there does not appear to be the amount of fruit that one may reasonably expect from the labor bestowed; the other is, because I am so far removed from yourself and a few others, and therefore am deprived of that sort of comfort and consolation which would prove a special help to me.

"But since we cannot have even so much at our own choice, that each at his own discretion might pick out the corner of the vineyard where he might serve Christ, we must remain at that post which He himself has allotted to each. This comfort we have at least, of which no far distant separation can deprive us,—I mean, that resting content with this fellowship which Christ has consecrated with his own blood, and has also confirmed and sealed by his blessed Spirit in our hearts,—while we live on the earth, we may cheer each other with that blessed hope to which your letter calls us that in heaven above we shall dwell for ever where we shall rejoice in love and in continuance of our friendship." [1]

There can be no nobler expression of Christian friendship.

In the same letter Calvin informs Melanchthon that he had dedicated to him his *Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine on the Slavery and Deliverance of the Human Will Against the Calumnies of Albert Pighius*, which he himself had urged Calvin to write, and which appeared in February, 1543.[2] After some modest account of his labors in Geneva,

[1] "*Hoc saltem nobis nulla regionum longinquitas eripiet, quin hac conjunctione, quam Christus sanguine suo consecratam Spiritu quoque suo in cordibus nostris sanxit, contenti, dum vivimus in terra sustineamur beata illa spe, ad quam nos literæ tuæ revocant: in cœlis nos simul perpetuo victuros, ubi amore amicitiaque nostra fruemur.*"

[2] "*Defensio sanæ et orthodoxæ doctrinæ de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii Campensis.*" *Opera*, vi., 225–404.

and judicious reflections on the condition of the Church in Germany, he thus concludes:

"Adieu, O man of most eminent accomplishments, and ever to be remembered by me and honored in the Lord! May the Lord long preserve you in safety to the glory of his name and the edification of the Church. I wonder what can be the reason why you keep your *Daniel* a sealed book at home.[1] Neither can I suffer myself quietly, without remonstrance, to be deprived of the benefit of its perusal. I beg you to salute Dr. Martin reverently in my name. We have here with us at present Bernardino of Siena, an eminent and excellent man, who has occasioned no little stir in Italy by his secession. He has requested me that I would greet you in his name. Once more adieu, along with your family, whom may the Lord continually preserve."

On the 11th of May following, Melanchthon thanked Calvin for the dedication, saying[2]: "I am much affected by your kindness, and I thank you that you have been pleased to give evidence of your love for me to all the world, by placing my name at the beginning of your remarkable book, where all the world will see it." He gives due praise to the force and eloquence with which he refuted Pighius, and, confessing his own inferiority as a writer, encourages him to continue to exercise his splendid talents for the edification and encouragement of the Church. Yet, while inferior as a logician and polemic, he, after all, had a deeper insight into the mystery of predestination and free-will, although unable to solve it. He gently hints to his friend that he looked too much to one side of the problem of divine sovereignty and human liberty, and says in substance:

"As regards the question treated in your book, the question of predestination, I had in Tübingen a learned friend, Franciscus Stadianus, who used to say, I hold both to be true that all things happen according to divine foreordination, and yet according to their own laws, although he could not harmonize the two. I maintain the proposition that God is not the author of sin, and therefore cannot will it.

[1] Melanchthon's Commentary on Daniel appeared in the same year at Wittenberg and Leipzig.

[2] *Opera*, vol. xi., 539–542. Also in *Corp. Reform.*, v., 107.

David was by his own will carried into transgression.[1] He might have retained the Holy Spirit. In this conflict there is some margin for free-will . . . Let us accuse our own will if we fall, and not find the cause in God. He will help and aid those who fight in earnest. *Μόνον θέλησον*, says Basilius, *καὶ θεὸς προαπαντᾷ*. God promises and gives help to those who are willing to receive it. So says the Word of God, and in this let us abide. I am far from prescribing to you, the most learned and experienced man in all things that belong to piety. I know that in general you agree with my view. I only suggest that this mode of expression is better adapted for practical use."[2]

In a letter to Camerarius, 1552, Melanchthon expresses his dissatisfaction with the manner in which Calvin emphasized the doctrine of predestination, and attempted to force the Swiss Churches to accept it in the *Consensus Genevensis*.[3]

Calvin made another attempt in 1554 to gain him to his view, but in vain.[4] On one point, however, he could agree to a certain modification; for he laid stress on the spontaneity of the will, and rejected Luther's paradoxes, and his comparison of the natural man to a dead statue.

It is greatly to the credit of Calvin that, notwithstanding his sensitiveness and intolerance against the opponents of his favorite dogma, he respected the judgment of the most eminent Lutheran divine, and gave signal proof of it by publishing a French translation of the improved edition of Melanchthon's *Theological Commonplaces* in 1546, with a commendatory preface of his own,[5] in which he says that the book was a brief summary of all things necessary for a Christian to know on the way of salvation, stated in the

[1] This is a direct contradiction to the assertion in the first edition of his *Loci* (1521), and his commentary on the Romans (1524), that God does all things not *permissive*, but *potenter*, and that he foreordained and wrought the adultery of David, and the treason of Judas, as well as the vocation of Paul. He so understood the epistle to the Romans. In December, 1525, Luther expressed the same views in his book against Erasmus, which he never recalled, but pronounced one of his best books (1537).

[2] "*Ad usum accommodata.*"

[3] Mel., *Opera*, in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, vii., 390.

[4] *Opera*, xv., 215–217. Dated 6 Calendas Septembris.

[5] The preface is reprinted in his *Opera*, vol. ix., 847–850.

simplest manner by the profoundly learned author. He does not conceal the difference of views on the subject of free-will, and says that Melanchthon seems to concede to man some share in his salvation ; yet in such a manner that God's grace is not in any way diminished, and no ground is left to us for boasting.

This is the only example of a Reformer republishing and recommending the work of another Reformer, which was the only formidable rival of his own chief work on the same subject (the *Institutes*), and differed from it in several points.[1]

The revival of the unfortunate eucharistic controversy by Luther in 1545, and the equally unfortunate controversy caused by the imperial *Interim* in 1548, tried the friendship of the Reformers to the uttermost. Calvin respectfully, yet frankly, expressed his regret at the indecision and want of courage displayed by Melanchthon from fear of Luther and a love of peace.

When Luther came out a year before his death with his most violent and abusive book against the "Sacramentarians,"[2] which deeply grieved Melanchthon and roused the just indignation of the Zwinglians, Calvin wrote to Melanchthon (June 28, 1545)[3]:

"Would that the fellow-feeling which enables me to condole with you, and to sympathize in your heaviness, might also impart the power, in some degree at least, to lighten your sorrow. If the matter stands as the Zürichers say it does, then they have just occasion for their writing. . . . Your Pericles allows himself to be carried beyond all bounds with his love of thunder, especially seeing that his own cause is by no means the better of the two. . . . We all of us acknowledge that we are much indebted to him. But in the Church we always must be upon our guard, lest

[1] Henry justly remarks (in his *Life of Calvin*, i., 376): "So free were these rare men of ambition, love of glory, and littleness of spirit, that they thought of nothing but the salvation of the world. Calvin wanted France to love Melanchthon as much as he did, and to be converted to Christ through him." Comp. Stähelin's *John Calvin*, i., 244.

[2] His *Short Confession on the Lord's Supper*. See Schaff, *Church History*, vol. vi., 654 *sqq*.

[3] *Opera*, xii., 98–100; Bonnet-Constable, i., 442–444.

we pay too great a deference to men. It is all over with her when a single individual has more authority than all the rest. . . . Where there is so much division and separation as we now see, it is indeed no easy matter to still the troubled waters, and bring about composure. . . . You will say he (Luther) has a vehement disposition and ungovernable impetuosity; as if that very vehemence did not break forth with all the greater violence when all show themselves alike indulgent to him, and allow him to have his way unquestioned. If this specimen of overbearing tyranny has sprung forth already as the early blossom in the spring-tide of a reviving Church, what must we expect in a short time, when affairs have fallen into a far worse condition? Let us, therefore, bewail the calamity of the Church and not devour our grief in silence, but venture boldly to groan for freedom. . . . You have studiously endeavored, by your kindly method of instruction, to recall the minds of men from strife and contention. I applaud your prudence and moderation. But while you dread, as you would some hidden rock, to meddle with this question from fear of giving offence, you are leaving in perplexity and suspense very many persons who require from you somewhat of a more certain sound, on which they can repose. . . . Perhaps it is now the will of God to open the way for a full and satisfactory declaration of your own mind, that those who look up to your authority may not be brought to a stand, and kept in a state of perpetual doubt and hesitation. . . .

"In the meantime let us run the race set before us with deliberate courage. I return you very many thanks for your reply, and for the extraordinary kindness which Claude assures me had been shown to him by you.[1] I can form a conjecture what you would have been to myself, from your having given so kind and courteous a reception to my friend. I do not cease to offer my chief thanks to God, who has vouchsafed to us that agreement in opinion upon the whole of that question [on the real presence]; for although there is a slight difference in certain particulars, we are very well agreed upon the general question itself."

When after the defeat of the Protestants in the Smalkaldian War, Melanchthon accepted the Leipzig *Interim* with

[1] Claude de Senarcleus, a friend of Calvin, returned from Wittenberg with an album full of pious inscriptions of leading Lutheran divines, which is preserved in the Town Library of Geneva. Bonnet, *l.c.*, i., 444.

the humiliating condition of conformity to the Roman ritual, which the German Emperor imposed upon them, Calvin was still more dissatisfied with his old friend. He sided, in this case, with the Lutheran non-conformists who, under the lead of Matthias Flacius, resisted the *Interim*, and were put under the ban of the empire. He wrote to Melanchthon, June 18, 1550, the following letter of remonstrance[1]:

"The ancient satirist [Juvenal, i., 79] once said—

'*Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum.*'

"It is at present far otherwise with me. So little does my present grief aid me in speaking, that it rather renders me almost entirely speechless. . . . I would have you suppose me to be groaning rather than speaking. It is too well known, from their mocking and jests, how much the enemies of Christ were rejoicing over your contests with the theologians of Magdeburg.[2] . . . If no blame attaches to you in this matter, my dear Philip, it would be but the dictate of prudence and justice to devise means of curing, or at least mitigating, the evil. Yet, forgive me if I do not consider you altogether free from blame. . . . In openly admonishing you, I am discharging the duty of a true friend; and if I employ a little more severity than usual, do not think that it is owing to any diminution of my old affection and esteem for you. . . . I know that nothing gives you greater pleasure than open candor. . . . This is the sum of your defence: that, provided purity of doctrine be retained, externals should not be pertinaciously contended for. . . . But you extend the distinction of non-essentials too far. You are aware that the Papists have corrupted the worship of God in a thousand ways. Several of those things which you consider indifferent are obviously repugnant to the Word of God. . . . You ought not to have made such large concessions to the Papists. . . . At the time when circumcision was yet lawful, do you not see that Paul, because crafty and malicious fowlers were laying snares for the liberty of believers, pertinaciously refused to concede to them a ceremony at the first instituted by God? He boasts that he did not yield to them,—no, not for an hour,—that the truth of God might remain intact among the

[1] *Opera*, xiii., 593 *sqq*.

[2] The zealous Lutherans at Magdeburg which stood out a long siege by the army of the Elector Maurice.

Gentiles (Gal. ii., 5). . . . I remind you of what I once said to you, that we consider our ink too precious if we hesitate to bear testimony in writing to those things which so many of the flock are daily sealing with their blood. . . . The trepidation of a general is more dishonorable than the flight of a whole herd of private soldiers. . . . You alone, by only giving way a little, will cause more complaints and sighs than would a hundred ordinary individuals by open desertion. And, although I am fully persuaded that the fear of death never compelled you in the very least to swerve from the right path, yet I am apprehensive that it is just possible that another species of fear may have proved too much for your courage. For I know how much you are horrified at the charge of rude severity. But we should remember that reputation must not be accounted by the servants of Christ as of more value than life. We are no better than Paul was, who remained fearlessly on his way through 'evil and good report.' . . . You know why I am so vehement. I had rather die with you a hundred times than see you survive the doctrines surrendered by you. . . .

"Pardon me for loading your breast with these miserable though ineffectual groans. Adieu, most illustrious sir, and ever worthy of my hearty regard. May the Lord continue to guide you by his Spirit, and sustain you by his might. May his protection guard you. Amen."

We have here a repetition of the scene between Paul and Peter at Antioch, concerning the rite of circumcision; and while we admire the frankness and boldness of Paul and Calvin in rebuking an elder brother, and standing up for principle, we must also admire the meekness and humility of Peter and Melanchthon in bearing the censure.

Melanchthon himself reopened the correspondence in the old friendly spirit, after a brief interruption, during the disturbances of war between Elector Maurice and the Emperor Charles, which made an end of the controversy about the *Adiaphora*.

"How often," wrote Melanchthon, Oct. 1, 1552,[1] "would I have written to you, reverend sir and dearest brother, if I could find more trustworthy letter-carriers. For I would

[1] *Opera*, xiv., 368; *Corp. Ref.*, vii., 1085.

like to converse with you about many most important matters, because I esteem your judgment very highly and know the candor and purity of your soul.[1] I am now living as in a wasp's nest[2]; but perhaps I shall soon be called from this mortal life to a brighter companionship in heaven. If I live longer, I have to expect new exiles; if so, I am determined to turn to you. The studies are now broken up by pestilence and war. How often do I mourn and sigh over the causes of this fury among princes."

In a lengthy and interesting answer Calvin says[3]: "Nothing could have come to me more seasonably at this time than your letter, which I received two months after its despatch."[4] He assures him that it was no little consolation to him in his sore trials at Geneva to be assured of the continuance of his affection, which, he was told, had been interrupted by the letter of remonstrance above referred to. "I have learned the more gladly that our friendship remains safe, which assuredly, as it grew out of a heartfelt love of piety, ought to remain forever sacred and inviolable."

In the unfortunate affair of Servetus, Melanchthon fully justified Calvin's conduct (1554), as did all the surviving Reformers, who were yet deeply steeped in the intolerance of the Mediæval Church and the abhorrence of heresy as the worst of sins. The only advocates of toleration in that age were Anabaptists and Unitarians, who were themselves persecuted. Calvin's error was the error of the times, but it will always be a reproach to him, and a spot on his fair name. Melanchthon wrote to him the following clear and distinct letter of approval, which is all the more remarkable as he was the gentlest, mildest, and most conciliatory among the Reformers.

"Reverend and dear brother, I have read your book, in which you have clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of

[1] "*Quia et judicium tuum magni facio, et scio integritatem animi et candorem in te summum esse.*"

[2] ὥσπερ ὄνος ἐν σφηκιαῖς.

[3] Bonnet-Constable, ii., 360–366; *Opera*, xiv., 415–418.

[4] Nowadays a letter from Wittenberg will reach Geneva in less than two days.

Servetus; and I give thanks to the Son of God, who was the βραβευτὴς (*the awarder of your crown of victory*), in this your combat. To you also the church owes gratitude at the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity. I perfectly assent to your opinion. I affirm also that your magistrates did right in punishing, after a regular trial, this blasphemous man.—Oct. 14, 1554."

In the same year Melanchthon wrote to Bullinger:

"Reverend and dear brother, I have read your answer to the blasphemies of Servetus, and I approve of your piety and opinions. I judge also that the Genevese senate did perfectly right, to put an end to this obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming. And I wonder at those who disapprove of this severity.—August 20."

During the eucharistic controversy, excited by Westphal, Melanchthon kept an ominous silence, which produced a coolness between him and Calvin. In a letter of Aug. 3, 1557, Calvin complains that for three years he had not heard from him, but expresses satisfaction that he still entertained the same affection, and closes with the wish that he may be permitted "to enjoy on earth a most delightful interview with you, and feel some alleviation of my grief by deploring along with you the evils which we cannot remedy." [1]

That wish was not granted. In a letter of Nov. 19, 1558,[2] he gives him, while still suffering from a quartan ague, a minute account of his malady, of the remedies of the doctors, of the formidable coalition of the kings of France and Spain against Geneva, and concludes with these words:

"Let us cultivate with sincerity a fraternal affection towards each other, the ties of which no wiles of the devil shall ever burst asunder. . . . By no slight shall my mind ever be alienated from that holy friendship and respect which I have vowed to you. . . . Farewell, most illustrious light and distinguished doctor of the Church. May the Lord always govern you by his Spirit, preserve you long

[1] Letter by Bonnet, *l.c.*, iii., 335–338; *Opera*, xvi., 556–558.

[2] Bonnet, iii., 481–485; *Opera*, xvii., 384–386.

in safety, increase your store of blessings. In your turn, diligently commend us to the protection of God, as you see us exposed to the jaws of the wolf. My colleagues and an innumerable crowd of pious men salute you."

On the 19th of April, 1560, Melanchthon was delivered from "the fury of the theologians," and all his troubles. A year after his death Calvin, who had to fight the battle of faith four years longer, during the renewed fury of the eucharistic controversy with the fanatical Hesshusius, addressed this touching appeal to his sainted friend in heaven:

"O Philip Melanchthon! I appeal to thee who now livest with Christ in the bosom of God, and there art waiting for us till we shall be gathered with thee to that blessed rest. A hundred times when worn out with labors and oppressed with so many troubles, didst thou repose thy head familiarly on my breast and say: 'Would that I could die in this bosom!' Since then I have a thousand times wished that it had been granted to us to live together; for certainly thou wouldst thus have had more courage for the inevitable contest, and been stronger to despise envy, and to count as nothing all accusations. In this manner, also, the malice of many would have been restrained who, from thy gentleness which they call weakness, gathered audacity for their attacks."

This friendship, which was stronger than death, is a noble monument of the two Reformers.

It conclusively refutes the false, though often-repeated, opinion that Calvin was a cold and unfeeling stoic. Under a marble cover, he had a heart full of deep and tender sympathy. He commanded, and kept to the last, the respect and affection of some of the best men and women of his generation, such as Farel, Viret, Bucer, Grynæus, Bullinger, Beza, Queen Marguerite, and the Duchess of Ferrara. Nothing can be more touching than his letters to Viret and Farel on the loss of his wife, and the letter of comfort to the father of Charles de Richebourg, one of his students, who died in his house at Strassburg.[1] Those who know

[1] See the section of Calvin's Home Life in Schaff's *Church History*, vol. vii., 413–424 (nearly ready for publication).

and judge him from the *decretum horribile* and the execution of Servetus, see the spots in the sun, and not the sun itself.

But the friendship between the author of the Augsburg Confession and the author of the Institutes of the Christian Religion has a general interest for the relationship of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which they represent. These churches, after a long and bitter alienation during the scholastic and polemical age of Lutheranism and Calvinism, have at last come to understand and appreciate each other. Some large sections have even been organically united in the Evangelical Churches of Prussia, Würtemberg, and Baden. Melanchthon, the mediator between the two Confessions, never lost his place in the respect and affection of the Reformed Churches, and has recovered it in the Lutheran Church, which once disowned him. Calvin, who was once hated as a dangerous heretic in Saxony and other Lutheran countries, is now recognized by leading Lutheran divines of all schools and parties, and by the Strassburg editors of his works, as the greatest commentator of the Scriptures, and one of the greatest divines and purest men of all ages. "He is beyond all question," says Dr. Reuss, "the greatest exegete of the sixteenth century." "He displays," says Winer, the author of the best grammar of the New Testament, "a truly wonderful sagacity in perceiving, and perspicuity in expounding, the meaning of the Apostles."

Kahnis, a whole-souled Lutheran divine and Church historian, thus admirably characterizes Calvin:[1]

"The fear of God was the soul of his piety, the rock-like certainty of his election before the foundation of the world was his power, and the doing of the will of God his single aim, which he pursued with trembling and fear. . . . No other Reformer has so well demonstrated the truth of Christ's word, that in the kingdom of God, dominion is service. No other had such an energy of self-sacrifice, such an irrefragable conscientiousness in the greatest as well as the

[1] *Lutherische Dogmatik*, vol. ii., 490 *sq.*

smallest things, such a disciplined power. This man, whose dying body was only held together by the will flaming from his eyes, had a majesty of character which commanded the veneration of his contemporaries."

Dorner, who combined with profound learning a rare sense of justice and discrimination, says [1]:

"Calvin was equally great in intellect and character, lovely in social life, full of tender sympathy and faithfulness to friends, yielding and forgiving towards personal offences, but inexorably severe when he saw the honor of God obstinately and malignantly attacked. He combined French fire and practical good sense with German depth and soberness. He moved as freely in the world of ideas as in the business of Church government. He was an architectonic genius in science and practical life, always with an eye to the holiness and majesty of God."

Karl Hase, in his posthumous lectures on Church History, calls Calvin "a dogmatic Dante," with the same awful adoration of the majesty and justice of God, and a theologian whose great life-thought was to realize Christianity in society.[2]

But what is most remarkable is the tribute which a Roman Catholic historian, Kampschulte of Bonn, paid to his purity and greatness, in the first volume of his critical biography of Calvin, which was, unfortunately, interrupted by his death. His judgment of Calvin is a parallel to Döllinger's judgment of Luther, and all the more weighty, as they dissent from the doctrines of the Reformers. Kampschulte says of Calvin's *Institutes*:[3]

[1] *Geschichte des Protest. Theologie*, pp. 374 *sq.*

[2] *Kirchengeschichte auf der Grundlage akademischer Vorlesungen*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 196 and 197: "*Sein grosser Gedanke war, das Christenthum zur Lebensordnung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft zu machen. . . . Durch ihn und Beza ist Genf die heilige Stadt, die neue Roma der reformatorischen Kirche geworden.*"

[3] *Johann Calvin. Seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf*, Leipzig, 1869, i., 274 *sq.* Professor Reusch of Bonn informed me that Professor Cornelius of Munich, a friend of Döllinger, was entrusted with the material for vols. ii. and iii., but he has not yet completed the work. Kampschulte died in 1872 an Old Catholic, like Döllinger.

"Calvin's manual of the Christian religion is beyond question the most prominent and most important work of the reformation literature in the department of dogmatic theology. Even a superficial comparison shows how vast a progress it marks over preceding works of the kind. . . . It is a work of perfect art. The author has with full justice been called the Aristotle of the Reformation. The extraordinary familiarity with the Bible and patristic literature fills us with astonishment. The method is luminous, the progress of thought strict, logical and transparent, the division and arrangement suited to the matter and the leading idea. The *Institutes* contain passages which are not surpassed by the most beautiful passages that Pascal or Bossuet ever wrote. Several sections will never fail to make a profound impression upon the reader. Even Catholic opponents cannot help to acknowledge this, and have even used many sections. We can fully understand that he looked upon this work with a sense of satisfaction and pride."

The growing appreciation of the leaders of the Reformation is a hopeful sign of the times. The more the different sections of evangelical Protestantism come to know each other, the more will they esteem and love each other. And we may go further and say, the more Roman Catholic historians will do justice to the Reformation, and the more Protestant historians will do justice to the Catholic Church, the sooner will the great controversies of Christendom be settled on the immovable basis of Him who is the divine concord of human discords.

RECENT RESEARCHES CONCERNING MEDIÆVAL SECTS

RECENT RESEARCHES CONCERNING MEDIÆVAL SECTS.

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CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE.

(*With Annotations*).

Preger, W.: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter. München, 1875.
Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier. München, 1878.
Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern des 14. Jahrhunderts. München, 1887.
Ueber die Verfassung der französischen Waldesier in den älteren Zeit. München, 1890.

No writer since Dieckhoff and Herzog has contributed so much to the right understanding of Waldensian history as Wilhelm Preger, and no sounder critic has ever busied himself with the literature of mediæval sects. The writings whose titles are here given were all originally published in the papers of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, and have had a somewhat limited circulation in separate brochures from the types of the Academy. The first contains the text of the now famous *Rescriptum Heresiarchum Lombardie ad Pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alamania*, a mediæval list of forty Waldensian communities in the diocese of Passau (about 1250), and a treatise, *De Occasionibus Errorum Hereticorum*, whose unknown author Preger has dubbed the "Passau Anonymous," preceded by a somewhat comprehensive treatise on the origin, character, divisions, and relations of the Waldenses, in the light of the materials at that time accessible.

The positions taken by Preger in this work he has in general steadfastly maintained, although he has shown himself ever ready to be corrected in matters of detail. If Preger can be said to have a "tendency," it is in the direction of minifying the unevangelical and in magnifying the evangelical elements in the Waldenses as exhibited in the sources. Yet when the limitations under which the mediæval evangelical Christians labored and the meagreness of the unprejudiced information available are taken into consideration, it is perhaps more scientific to interpret the less favorable notices by the more favorable than to reverse the process.

The treatise on *The Relation of the Taborites to the Waldenses of the Fourteenth Century* was occasioned by the publication of Wattenbach's work, to be mentioned hereafter, and by the criticisms of Karl Müller and Herman Haupt. It contains 111 quarto pages, and reviews comprehensively, in the light of newly discovered sources and of recent discussions, the various questions that have arisen since the publication of his earlier works on the Waldenses. It is by far the most valuable work that has appeared on the Taborites and their relation to the older evangelical party.

Preger's last treatise (a quarto of 73 pages), on *The Polity of the French Waldenses of the Older Time*, is based largely upon materials published by Döllinger in his great collection of documents, to be referred to hereafter, and on the *Practica Inquisitionis* of Bernard Gui, published a few years ago by Canon Douais. He gives an amended text from a Vatican Codex of a document published by Döllinger, entitled *De Vita et Actibus, de Fide et Erroribus Hæreticorum qui se dicunt Pauperes Christi seu Pauperes de Lugduno.* An interesting feature of Preger's treatise is a critical comparison of closely related accounts of the Waldenses found in the recently published *Acta Inquisitionis Carcassonensis*, and in the treatises of David of Augsburg and Bernard Gui. He makes it appear that Bernard Gui did not, as Müller supposed, draw from David of Augsburg, but that both these writers derived their notices from the *Acta Carcassonensis.* So, also, Preger shows that the notices which Bernard was supposed to have drawn from Stephanus de Borbone were derived rather from the *Acta Carcassonensis.*

These four brochures of Preger may well be regarded as indispensable to the student of Waldensian history.

Müller, K. Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts (first published in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1886, Heft iv., and 1887, Heft i.).
Review of writings of Keller, Haupt, and Jostes on the *Codex Teplensis*, in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, Heft ii., 1886 and Heft iii., 1887.

Next to Preger, Müller is probably the most important contemporary writer on Waldensian subjects. In comprehensive grasp of the facts he is quite equal to Preger. In the articles on *The Waldenses and their Individual Groups to the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century* he has passed in review almost the whole literature of the subject. For destructive criticism he has a rare faculty. As regards soundness of historical judgment he seems to me far inferior to Preger. If Preger shows a disposition occasionally to strain a point in order to exhibit the old-evangelical Christians in a favorable light, Müller shows a disposition to put the most unfavorable construction on all the notices and to make the old-evangelical Christians appear as little evangelical as possible. The same tendency appears in his criticism of the brochures of Keller, Haupt, and Jostes on the *Codex Teplensis*. Yet no student can afford to pass by his writings.

Haupt, H.: Die religiösen Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation. Würzburg, 1882.
Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelalterlichen Waldenser. Würzburg, 1885.
Der Waldensische Ursprung des *Codex Teplensis* und der vorlutherischen deutschen Bibeldrucke. Würzburg, 1886.
Waldensia (in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, x., 2, 1888).
Waldenserthum und Inquisition im sudöstlichen Deutschland. Freiburg, 1890.

Herman Haupt is worthy to be placed side by side with Preger and Müller as one of the three foremost specialists in the history of mediæval evangelical sects. He may be said to occupy an intermediate position between Preger and Müller as regards his point of view and his judgments on controverted matters. In the first work whose title is given above he deals with a limited territory, and treats not only the evangelical sectaries but also the dualistic and the pantheistic. Incidentally, however, he goes beyond the territory that specially engages his attention and touches upon other important questions. This writing gave him

at once a recognized place among the students of mediæval sects.

In 1885 he adopted the view, first propounded by Keller, that the *Codex Teplensis* is of Waldensian origin, and that the earlier printed German Bibles were based upon this Waldensian version, and developed and justified this view as Keller was not in a position at the time to do. Along with Keller he has been the chief defender of this view, and by elaborate processes of comparison, to be hereafter described more particularly, he has been able to make good the claim first set forth.

In *Waldensia* he treats a number of interesting points of Waldensian history. Perhaps the most noteworthy contribution contained in the article is his refutation of Müller's argument for the practical identification of the Ortlibarian sect with the Waldenses. His discussion of Waldensian articles of faith is likewise of considerable interest.

Most important of all Haupt's writings on the Waldenses is the last one mentioned. It is a well-nigh exhaustive account of Waldensianism in Southern Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian territory, so far as it is mentioned in extant or available records of the Inquisition. He covers much of the ground occupied by Preger in his treatise on *The Relation of the Taborites to the Waldenses.* His conclusion on this point is, that both Preger and his opponents are in error—Preger in almost ignoring, and his opponents in unduly magnifying, the Wiclifite influence. He agrees with Preger in finding the Waldenses strongly rooted in Bohemia and Moravia long before the outbreak of the Hussite revolution, and Waldensianism of a type that would naturally lead to the peculiar phenomena of Taboritism. That the influence of the Waldenses on the Taborites was very great he thinks unquestionable. Yet he attaches more importance than Preger is disposed to do to the influence of the English evangelical movement.

Keller, L.: Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien. Leipzig, 1885.

Die Waldenser und die Deutschen Bibelübersetzungen. Nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Reformation. Leipzig, 1886.

Zur Geschichte der Altevangelischen Gemeinden. Vortrag, gehalten zu Berlin am 20. April, 1887. Berlin, 1887.

Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation. Leipzig, 1888.

Ludwig Keller, Archivar at Münster, had, before the publication of his treatise on *The Reformation and the Older Reforming Parties*, attracted the attention of scholars by his remarkable volumes on *The Anabaptists of Münster* and *An Apostle of the Anabaptists*. In the first he had successfully vindicated the evangelical Anabaptists of the Biblical and Mystical types from all complicity in the abominations of Münster and had placed the responsibility where it rightly belonged. In the second he gave a highly appreciative account of Hans Denck, based upon a thorough study of his writings. He showed himself in these works so sympathetic with the persecuted evangelical Anabaptists and so unsympathetic with their persecutors, that he was at once pounced upon by critics of strong Lutheran proclivities, who naturally magnified any slips he may have made, and stigmatized him as an Anabaptist, etc. The wrath of his critics was intensified by the appearing of his work on *The Reformation and the Older Reforming Parties*. The tendency of the criticism has been to discredit alike the scholarship and the critical soundness of the author.

It may be worth our while to inquire how far the adverse criticism of Keller's work, by such writers as Karl Müller, Theod. Kolde, Tschackert, etc., is justified, and how far it is based upon a misunderstanding of Keller's position or a disapproval of his conclusions. It may be permitted to the writer to say that he is in thorough sympathy with Keller's general view of the old evangelical party and of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. I should rejoice to be able, in the light of all the facts, to see the great aggregation of mediæval dissent as evangelical and as harmonious as Keller sees it. I should be delighted to know that even the dualistic parties, commonly known as Cathari, were substantially evangelical and that the charges made against them by their opponents were without foundation. I should like exceedingly to be able to prove that the workmen's lodges of the Middle Ages were to all intents and purposes evangelical churches and means for disseminating evangelical truth. It would be most gratifying to me to have satisfactory evidence that Marsilius of Padua and his colaborer in the production of *Defensor Pacis* were Waldenses, sent to the University

of Paris by their fellow-religionists to be schooled in the wisdom of the Church, in order that they might the more effectively combat its errors. I would welcome adequate proof of the evangelical character of the Mystics and of the close relationship between these and the Waldenses. Especially gratifying would it be to me to have adequate proof that "the Waldenses have fundamentally always held fast to baptism on profession of faith," and that "where they deviated from baptism on profession of faith it was under the pressure of the circumstances in which they found themselves." I should like much to know that the great publishers of Strassburg, Nürnberg and Basel were as evangelical as Keller seeks to represent them. While Keller has not proved, and does not claim to have absolutely proved, all that he chooses to regard as probable, there is no question but that he has brought together enough well authenticated evidence to convince the unbiased reader, that throughout the later Middle Ages there was a strong current of evangelical life widely diffused throughout Europe—stronger and more widely diffused than had commonly been supposed. He has displayed remarkable ingenuity in making historical combinations which point to the solution of important problems; he has attempted to extend Preger's favorable view of the evangelical character of the Waldenses to most of the anti-Catholic life of the Middle Ages; he is far more attentive to the points of agreement among mediæval sects than to the points of difference that are often just as important. How far are Keller's critics justified in the strictures they have made upon his work? Keller has, in my opinion, laid himself open to criticism in the following particulars:

1. He has covered a wide field, and has sometimes depended too much upon second-hand authorities, and has thus failed to do full justice to the materials contained in the originals. It has been shown, *e. g.*, that he has depended largely upon Mosheim for his citations of such mediæval authorities as were available in the time of Mosheim. He has been convicted in some cases of carelessness in the use of authorities, mistranslation, etc. All this might be expected in a writing of such scope as *The Reformation and the Older Reforming Parties*. He has admitted mistakes, and he lays no claim to being an original investigator in mediæval sect-history in the sense in which Preger, Müller, and Haupt are original investigators. Even these writers have again and again

been convicted of grave errors by each other, and they lay no claim to infallibility any more than does Keller. A few slips in the use of authorities or inadequate knowledge of certain parts of the history should not be regarded as sufficient ground for the damning of an author's work as a whole.

2. It has been said, in effect, that Keller writes as if he had a thesis to maintain at all hazards, and that he perverts history in order to bring it into accord with his theory. There can be little doubt but that Keller had been led to believe, before he entered upon his special investigations in mediæval sect-history, that the views of the evangelical and mystical Anabaptists, with which he had earlier become acquainted and with which he sympathized deeply, were no new views ; but that these evangelical Christians had their roots far back in the Middle Ages, even if their historical connection with the Apostolic age could not be proved. He would probably feel free to admit that the main object of his mediæval studies was to find confirmation for this view, and that his eyes were more open to the facts that seemed favorable to his theory than to such as seemed unfavorable. But is it not true that much of the most valuable work in the natural sciences as well as in history has been accomplished in just this way ? There is certainly some advantage in having a clearly defined expectation as to what may be found before the search is undertaken. Yet it must be admitted that such work has its limitations, and that its value at best depends upon the judicial fairness with which the facts are handled. It cannot be denied even by those who sympathize with Keller's general view of mediæval and Reformation history, that he has indulged too freely in conjecture, and that he has ignored many facts that would tend to modify in important particulars his conclusions.

3. Keller has been accused of utterly confounding the mediæval parties, with treating Waldenses, Cathari, evangelical Beghards, Brethren of the Common Life, Friends of God, Taborites, Bohemian Brethren, etc., as essentially one party. What are the facts ? It must be borne in mind that Keller is far more intent on proving the prevalence of a type of life and doctrine than on establishing the organic connection of the various parties among themselves. He lays little stress upon the special sect-names, maintaining that these were not, as a rule, used by the evangelical Christians with reference to themselves, but that they were com-

monly applied to them by their opponents. He uses the term "old-evangelical party" with a view to comprehending under it all the evangelical life of the Middle Ages, inside as well as outside of the Roman Catholic Church. No doubt he has often been misunderstood through failure on the part of his critics to recognize the comprehensiveness which he has chosen to give to this term. In the sense that all the parties under consideration agreed in holding to evangelical doctrine and in laying stress on evangelical life, they may be properly said to have belonged to the old-evangelical party, and yet their differences of organization, or even their entire independence, one of the other, may be admitted. Keller is no doubt fond of pointing out such facts as seem favorable to the identification or the intimate relationship of these parties among themselves, and some of his most startling conjectures are along this line. Yet he has generally been careful to distinguish between fact and conjecture.

4. Keller's use of conjecture is worthy of treatment in a separate paragraph, as it has no doubt been the occasion of much of the unfriendly criticism that has been showered upon him. It must be admitted that such criticisms are in part justified. While Keller is usually careful to characterize his conjectures as such, or to indicate that the conjectural statement is only probably correct, he often proceeds to build up an elaborate scheme on the basis of the conjecture, and he uses the conjecture in such a way as would lead one to suppose that he has come to regard it as well authenticated fact. It would generally be possible for the reader to rectify the practical fallacy involved by referring back to the passage in which the conjecture is first broached ; but few readers will bear in mind throughout the course of the discussion the doubtfulness of the facts or combinations of facts which form the basis of the conclusions reached, when all along the author seems to ignore this element of uncertainty. A large part—and perhaps the most interesting part—of the work on *The Reformation and the Older Reforming Parties* is to some extent open to this criticism.

5. In so far admitting that Keller is amenable to criticism, I would not be understood as expressing the slightest sympathy with the tone of the strictures on his work that have been published by Müller, Kolde, Tschackert, *et al.* It is certain that these writers have done far less than justice to the valuable feat-

ures of Keller's writings, and that many of their strictures are wholly unwarranted. Still less would I be thought to impugn the thorough honesty of purpose of this most interesting writer. It is impossible to conceive that a member of a Pædo-baptist communion, in a land where the name Anabaptist or Baptist is peculiarly odious, could have any but the highest and noblest motives in devoting his powers to the vindication of those who were cruelly persecuted and grossly misrepresented in their own times, and to whom modern writers, as a rule, still do far less than justice. In the preface to his work on Staupitz he repeats substantially, and with emphasis, what he had written in the preface to the work on Denck, that he has written neither from love nor malice towards any one of the existing church parties; that he is animated in what he has written solely by love of truth and of science. Yet he does not deny that he takes a definite position with reference to fundamental questions. "The controlling thought of this stand-point is, that the principle of toleration, as it is derived from the *voluntary principle* here represented, *forms an essential part of the religion of Christ.*"

6. It would be a grave mistake to suppose that Keller's critics surpass him in love of truth, or that they have succeeded in writing in a purely objective and scientific way, or that they are above distorting facts in order to score a point in favor of the theory they may have chosen to advocate.

It is probable that Dr. Keller, who is still comparatively young (b. 1849), will profit by the criticisms of his work, so far as they are well grounded, and that he will make even more valuable contributions to the knowledge of mediæval and Reformation parties than he has yet made.

Wattenbach, W.: Ueber die Inquisition gegen die Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg. Berlin, 1886.

Wattenbach is one of the foremost specialists in mediæval secular history, and has edited many important documents and published a number of valuable articles and treatises. His name is a sufficient guaranty of the accuracy and scholarliness of anything he may put forth. The work before us is from the papers of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, and contains 102 quarto pages. It is based upon a MS. used by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* (1562) and long sup-

posed to be lost. It was discovered among the MSS. of the Wolfenbüttel Library, and its contents are here imparted with abundant elucidatory matter. The MS. is not complete, but enough of it has been preserved to throw much light on the history of the Waldenses in Pomerania and Brandenburg in 1393–1394. Another MS., which since the fifteenth century seems to have been attached to the account of the inquisition of 1393–1394, gives a record of another inquisition in the same region in 1458. Matthias Flacius Illyricus seems to have used both MSS., and may have confounded some of the statements of the later document with those of the earlier. These documents consist of examinations of individuals accused of heresy. The accused are required to confess how long they have been associated with heretics, whether they were born of heretical parents, or, if not, by whom they were led into heresy, etc. The type of Waldensianism represented is thoroughly evangelical. The Roman Catholic Church is regarded as so apostate that salvation may not be secured in its communion. Prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, purgatory, oaths, warfare, etc., are rejected. Much stress is laid on purity of life, and ordinances administered by sinful priests are regarded as invalid. Many of the accused confessed that they had been in the habit of sprinkling themselves with holy water and conforming to other ecclesiastical practices, not because they attached any importance to these things, but in order to avoid suspicion. The later document shows that the inquisitorial processes by means of which several hundreds of the heretics were led to recant their errors failed to exterminate the old-evangelical party. By this time, and probably long before, intimate relations had been established with the Taborites, the Bohemian Brethren, etc., of Bohemia, and the names of Wiclif and Hus were known and honored. Wattenbach, in the paper under discussion, writes in a purely objective way ; but he shows great respect for Preger and his work, and no doubt sympathizes with his general view of the Waldenses.

Douais, C. : Practica Inquisitionis Heretice Pravitatis, Auctore Bernardo Guidonis Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum. Document publié pour la première fois. Paris, 1886.

This handsome quarto of 370 pages is made up largely of formal matter connected with the Inquisition—forms of citation of

various classes of heretics, modes of procedure, forms of sentence, etc., as used by the officers of the Inquisition in Toulouse, Carcasson, Albi, and the Province of Narbonne. Bernard gives a detailed account of the doctrines and practices of the Waldenses, derived largely, as has been proved by Preger, from the *Acta Carcas.*, and closely related to the account of David of Augsburg. His account of the grades of ministry among the Waldenses and the forms of consecration to the various grades is of considerable value. The new materials here made available have already been utilized by Preger, Müller, *et al.*

Comba, E.: Valdo ed i Valdesi avanti la Riforma. Firenze, 1880.
Storia della Riforma in Italia narrata col Sussidio di Nuovi Documenti. Firenze, 1881.
Histoire des Vaudois d'Italie depuis leurs Origines jusqu'a nos Jours. Primière Partie : Avant la Réforme. Paris et Turin, 1887. (Also English translation, The Waldenses of Italy, from their Origin to the Reformation. London, 1888.)

Professor Comba, of the Waldensian College in Florence, is the first Waldensian writer, so far as I am aware, who has broken loose from traditional views of Waldensian history and cordially accepted the results of historical investigation. His point of view is substantially that of the leading German writers on the subject. In fact, he sometimes follows Müller against Preger. He has mastered the works of German and French writers and has diligently studied the sources. The second Italian work whose title is here given constitutes the introduction to a larger work, which, I think, is still incomplete. In this introduction he sketches the history of evangelical life in Italy from the apostolic time down to the time of what he calls the Mediæval Reaction. Then he proceeds to discuss the Papal Autocracy from Canossa to Avignon, Arnold of Brescia, the Ghibellines, Dante, Marsilius of Padua, the Patarines, the Waldenses, and the Poor Men of Lombardy (in the light of the *Rescriptum*), the Franciscan parties, the Apostolici (or followers of Segarelli and Dolcino), etc. He has interesting chapters also on the Renaissance and on the succeeding efforts at evangelical reform. In an Appendix he has given a considerable body of documents, including the *Rescriptum*.

The third work (in French and English) is probably the most complete and the most readable history of the Italian Waldenses

that has yet appeared. The author does not, as might be supposed from the title, limit himself entirely to Italy. Comba has shown little originality in his treatment of the subject, but he has mastered the materials and has wrought them into a most interesting narrative.

Döllinger, I. von : Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters. 1. Theil : Geschichte der Gnostisch-Manichäischen Sekten ; 2. Theil : Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der Valdesier und Katharer. München, 1890.

As is evident from the title, the first part of Döllinger's work is limited to the treatment of the dualistic sects of the Middle Ages. His effort to identify Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne with the Cathari will be considered at some length hereafter. The spirit of the entire treatise is disappointing. The author shows no due appreciation of the evangelical elements of mediæval anti-Catholic Christianity, and is disposed, in the most uncritical manner, to believe the most incredible slanders of their enemies and persecutors. That confessions of abominable practices were drawn from those accused of heresy by the application of tortures of the most exquisite kind does not, so far as one can see, lead him to suspect the truthfulness of the confessions. He seems as blind to the good qualities of heretics as the most bigoted Dominican of the Middle Ages. The volume of documents is of far greater value. Indeed, it may be regarded as indispensable to all students of mediæval sect-history. Many of the documents have been published before, but are inaccessible to most scholars. Several of the most important are published here for the first time. The editing seems for the most part excellent.

Among the most important of the new documents are extracts from the Acts of the Inquisition of Carcasson and the book *Supra Stella*, by Salvus Burce, written at Piacenza in 1235. While it does not contain all the documentary material that is available on mediæval sects, it is an exceedingly rich collection. Many of the documents are undated, and the editor gives no intimation whatever as to the age to which they probably belong. This is a defect which somewhat impairs the utility of the collection. The volume contains seventy-two documents and is almost equally rich in materials pertaining to the Waldensian parties and in such as pertain to the Cathari.

Lea, H. C.: A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. New York, 1888. 3 volumes.

Dr. Henry C. Lea's work on the Inquisition contains much valuable information on the various heretical parties that furnished material for the Holy Office. What he has written on mediæval subjects prompts the wish that he could find time to write such a complete history of mediæval sects as his abilities and facilities for gathering full information would make possible. The work referred to is recognized even by German scholars as standing in the front rank.

Friess: Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Oesterreich während des Mittelalters. Wien, 1872.

Knatz, J.: Vaudois et Taborites. Geneve, 1889.

Fredericq: Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Neerlandicæ, i. Ghent, 1889.

Duverger: L'Inquisition en Belgique. Verviers, 1888.

Goll, J.: Die Waldenser im Mittelalter und ihre Literatur (in Mittheilungen des Inst. für Oesterr. Gesch., ix., 1888).
Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder. Prag, 1878–1882.

Klimesch, P.: Der Codex Teplensis. Augsburg-München, 1881–1884.

Jostes, F.: Die Waldenser und die vorlutherische deutsche Bibelübersetzungen. Münster, 1885.
Die Tepler Bibelübersetzung. Eine zweite Kritik. Münster, 1886.

Weiss, W.: Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung des Dialectes des *Codex Teplensis*. Halle, 1887.

Rachel, M.: Ueber die Freiberger Bibelhandschrift nebst Beiträgen zur Gesch. d. vorlutherischen Bibelübersetzung. Freiberg, 1886.

Berger, S.: La Bible Française au Moyen Age. Paris, 1884.

Montet, E.: Histoire Littéraire des Vaudois du Piemont. Paris, 1885.

Kolde, T.: J. von Staupitz, ein Waldenser und ein Wiedertäufer (*Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1885).

Böhm, W.: Friedrich Reiser's Reformation des K. Sigmund. Leipzig, 1876.

Breyer, R.: Arnold von Brescia (in Maurenbrecher's Historischem Taschenbuch, 1889).
Die Arnoldisten (in Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xii., 1891).

Giesebrecht: Arnold von Brescia. München, 1873.

Tocco: L'Eresia nel Medio Evo. Firenze, 1884.

Palacky, F.: Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Sekten in Böhmen. Prag, 1869.

Möller, W.: Review of Preger's "Ueber die Verfassung der französischen Waldesier," and of Haupt's "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland," in *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, No. 15, 1891.

Lemme, L.: Review of Keller's "J. von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation," in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1. Heft, 1890.

It is scarcely necessary that I should disclaim any attempt at completeness in this account of the literature of mediæval evangelical sects. The older works have been altogether excluded, and only such modern writings and collections of documents are mentioned as are likely to be specially helpful.

CHAPTER II.

ORIENTATION.

The sects of the Middle Ages might be conveniently classified as follows: 1. Dualistic, including Paulicians, Bogomiles and the various parties of Cathari; 2. Pantheistic, including the followers of Amalric of Bena, some of the German Mystics, and some of the Beghards: 3. Chiliastic, including the followers of Peter Olivi, some of the Pre-Hussite Bohemian reformers, some of the Taborites, etc.; 4. Evangelical, including the followers of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne, the followers of Arnold of Brescia, the Waldenses, the Bohemian Brethren, and the evangelical Mystics. Few departments of ecclesiastical history have profited more largely during the past half-century from the painstaking scientific investigations of German scholars than that of mediæval sects. Fifty years ago the utmost confusion prevailed. Little advance had been made on the works of Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Gottfried Arnold, Füesslin, and Mosheim. The documentary materials that existed in printed form had not been subjected to scholarly criticism, and the vast archival treasures of Europe had scarcely been touched. The advance movement was introduced by Neander, Hahn, Gieseler, Dieckhoff, Herzog, and Karl Schmidt, all of whom occupied themselves seriously with the investigation of the sources and applied to the study of the materials a sound criticism; while most of them brought to light much fresh material and made substantial additions to the facilities for understanding the more obscure aspects of mediæval Christian life and thought.

Within the past two decades more has been done than in all the past towards a scientific treatment of the subject. Much still remains to be done, alike in the way of making available still unused documents and of fully utilizing the materials already available.

No attempt will be made in the present paper to cover the entire ground suggested by the subject as printed in the programme. We must leave out of consideration the valuable researches that have recently been made into the history of dualistic, pantheistic, and chiliastic heresies, and content ourselves with passing in review a few of the points in mediæval evangelical sect-history that still are matters of controversy.

CHAPTER III.

WERE PETER DE BRUYS AND HENRY OF LAUSANNE CATHARI, OR EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS?

So far as the writer is aware, the late Dr. Döllinger—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—was the first of modern writers to call in question the evangelical character of these valiant and able assailants of the corruptions of the mediæval Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Döllinger has brought to the discussion of the subject no new materials whatever. With the same materials before him as those on which Gieseler, Neander, and Karl Schmidt based their highly favorable opinions as to the evangelical character of the lives and teachings of these reformers, Döllinger, largely as it would seem on subjective grounds, came to the conclusion that they were Cathari pure and simple. The chief source of information as to the teachings of Peter de Bruys is Peter the Venerable's contemporary *Tractatus contra Petrobrusianos*. Bernard's rhetorical railings are utterly devoid of historical value. It was his business to arouse the authorities to such a degree as would lead to the extermination of these heretics, and nothing was more remote from his thought than that it was incumbent upon him to do them justice. There is no reason to think that he took the trouble to inform himself accurately as to their doctrines and practices. They were enemies of the Church, and this was enough for him. While Peter the Venerable wrote with considerable bitterness, there is throughout his somewhat discursive treatise evidence of a careful personal investigation of the teachings of his adversaries, and of an honest effort to state accurately the points of controversy between Petrobrusians and Catholics. The question, accordingly, reduces itself to this:

Does Peter the Venerable's account of the doctrines of the Petrobrusians warrant the conclusion that they were Cathari? What, then, are the Petrobrusian tenets, according to Peter the Venerable?

The first heresy attributed to them is the rejection of infant baptism, on the ground of the Great Commission. Infants cannot believe, therefore they are not fit subjects for baptism. It is claimed by Döllinger that in this tenet the Petrobrusians were at one with the Cathari. True, the Cathari rejected infant baptism, but they did not stop with the rejection of infant baptism; they rejected adult baptism as well, substituting therefor the Consolamentum, a ceremonial imposition of hands. It may be said in reply that the Cathari were sometimes willing to deceive by calling the Consolamentum baptism; but the Petrobrusians were definitely charged by the Catholics with *rebaptizing*, a charge which they earnestly repudiated on the ground that believers' baptism which they practised was the only baptism worthy of the name, and that they performed this not repeatedly, but once for all.

The second charge brought against the Petrobrusians by Peter the Venerable was, their preaching against the building of temples and in favor of destroying such as already existed, on the ground that "the church of God consists not in the multitude of coherent stones, but in the unity of assembled believers." Their zeal against ecclesiastical buildings seems to have been due to the corrupt and superstitious uses to which they were commonly put, and especially to the disposition of Catholics to restrict the receiving of spiritual benefits to consecrated places.

The third specification against the Petrobrusians is their preaching against the adoration of crosses and in favor of breaking them to pieces and trampling them under foot or burning them. No doubt the Cathari were equally zealous against temple-worship and cross-worship. But this is no sufficient reason for identifying the Petrobrusians with the Cathari. Modern Protestants have in many instances been equally iconoclastic.

The fourth charge is a somewhat more serious one, namely, their assertion that "the Church has not the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, and that what is done by the priests in this matter is utterly vain, and destitute of any true effect; since Christ gave his body not for those who were to be Christians in all times, but only once for all for his disciples who were present." That the Petrobrusians should have protested against the mediæval view of the mass, with its transubstantiation and sacrifice, is surely no sufficient ground for identifying them with the Cathari. The question is, whether they rejected the Lord's Supper entirely, and if so whether it was on Catharistic grounds. It has been commonly supposed that the rejection of the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice in relation to the Supper is all that the charge can be fairly taken to involve. The memorial celebration of the Supper would not be regarded as worthy of the name by such a churchman as Peter the Venerable. In this view Roman Catholic historians like Alzog are at one with most Protestant writers. Döllinger finds in this rejection of the mass a strong support for his identification of the party with the Cathari.

The remaining items are the rejection of prayers for the dead, on the ground that nothing can be done to add to the merit or to change the condition of those who have gone hence; and their contempt for ecclesiastical chanting, on the ground that God is pleased not with high-pitched voices but with holy affections.

Incidentally Peter the Venerable mentions the preference of the Petrobrusians for the Gospels, especially the words of Christ, as compared with the Epistles and the Old Testament. Yet he does not venture to charge them with the utter rejection of the Old Testament, which he certainly would not have refrained from doing if he had possessed good grounds for the charge. Such preference for the New Testament as the standard of faith and practice was common to the evangelical Christians of the Middle Ages, and there is possibly a trace of it even among evangelical Christians of the nineteenth century.

Döllinger's argument in favor of identifying the Petrobrusians and Henricians with the Cathari rests upon his claim that no one of the views attributed to the former by contemporary writers differentiates the two, and on the following considerations: The Cathari are known to have existed in considerable numbers in the territory in which Peter and Henry labored; these regions were soon overrun with Manichæan or Catharistic heretics; there is no evidence that the followers of Peter and Henry persisted as a party distinct from the Cathari during the succeeding century. Döllinger was of the opinion that to suppose Peter and Henry to have been other than Catharistic would be to admit the existence of a party and a set of views, for the origin and the subsequent disappearance of which we cannot account.

In addition to the considerations given above by way of showing the insufficiency of Peter the Venerable's charges to prove that Peter and Henry were Cathari, I would submit the following reasons for dissenting from Döllinger's view:

1. If the Petrobrusians had been known as dualistic heretics it is scarcely conceivable that Peter the Venerable would have refrained from stigmatizing them as Manichæans. Even Bernard does not, I believe, venture so far as to apply this well-known and damning epithet to the followers of Peter and Henry.

2. While contemporary writers bear witness to the strictness and the simplicity of the lives of these heretics, I have met with no charge against them of Manichæan abstinence from animal food, etc.

3. Perhaps the most decisive consideration against Döllinger's view is the attitude of Peter and Henry towards marriage. It is well known that the Cathari, and all other parties of Manichæan tendencies, were characterized by uncompromising hostility to marriage, regarding it as no better than fornication and abhorring any sort of sexual relationship. Among the charges preferred by Peter the Venerable against the Petrobrusians is the following: "Monks are imprisoned and compelled by terrors and

torments to marry." Henry of Lausanne is represented, in *Acta Episcoporum Cenomanensium*, as reforming the customs which impeded marriage by the requirement of dowries and marriage portions, and urging even those who had lived unchastely together to marry. So great was his influence as to produce almost a revolution in this regard in the diocese of Mans, where he labored for some months. Now it is simply inconceivable that a Catharist, or a teacher of Manichæan tendencies, should have used his influence so powerfully in favor of that which is utterly repugnant to the principles of the party.

4. As it regards the difficulty felt by Döllinger in attempting to account for the appearing of evangelical views at this time and in these regions, it does not seem to me so serious as Döllinger would have us believe. He presupposes during the preceding centuries a complete absence in Southern France of old-evangelical life, a supposition utterly gratuitous. If Peter and Henry must be thought of as owing their evangelical impulses to an antecedent evangelical party, it would be far more reasonable to admit the probable secret existence of such a party, than to seek to identify these teachers with a party some of whose views were radically opposed to their own. There is much indirect evidence of the persistence in Northern Italy and in Southern France, from the early time, of evangelical types of Christianity. But apart from this possible solution of the difficulty involved in the rise of Petrobrusianism, on the supposition that it was different from Catharism, is it unreasonable to suppose that, as a result of the strong anti-churchly sentiment created by the Cathari through their vigorous denunciation of the corruptions and superstitions of the time, men like Peter and Henry who had been trained for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and who were familiar with the Scriptures, should have been led by contrasting the current Christianity with that of the New Testament to seek to restore Christianity to its primitive simplicity and purity? On the contrary, it seems to me the most natural thing in the world.

5. The difficulty involved in the absence of evidence of the persistence of the followers of Peter and Henry as a distinct party is by no means so great as Döllinger supposed. Being dependent for our information as to the views of the heretics of the succeeding time wholly on their enemies, we could scarcely expect to find nice discriminations made between the dualistic and the non-dualistic sectaries. Moreover, the rigid inquisition of heresy in the south of France did not begin until after the rise of the Waldenses, about 1170. It would not be difficult to suppose that evangelical dissent persisted, even though we had no record of the fact, during the thirty-two years that intervened between the death of Henry and the appearing of Peter Waldo. It is in itself highly probable that Peter Waldo himself was influenced to a greater or less extent by antecedent evangelical life. It is also highly probable that the followers of Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne were driven by persecution or by missionary zeal beyond the regions in which these teachers labored. Northern Italy was at that time in close relations with Southern France, and the Cathari of the two regions sustained a lively intercourse. It is probable that evangelical heresy was likewise freely interchanged. The Waldenses who began their work at Lyons soon crossed over the mountains to Lombardy and established relations, as we shall see hereafter, with evangelical Christians of a more pronounced type than themselves. These were no doubt in part the results of the labors of Arnold of Brescia; but it is not by any means unlikely that Arnold himself was influenced by the teachings of Peter de Bruys, and it is highly probable that these two great teachers were subject to substantially the same evangelizing influences and reached substantially the same views as to the evils of the time and the remedy therefor. In Cologne we find about 1146, before the death of Henry, evangelical Christians of the Petrobrusian type side by side with Cathari and vigorously opposing them. According to Evervin, who points out their discordance with the Cathari, "They make void the priesthood of the

church and condemn the sacraments except baptism alone, and this in adults. . . . Concerning the baptism of infants they have no faith on account of the statement in the Gospel, 'He that believeth and shall have been baptized shall be saved,'" etc. Other features of the Petrobrusian system are likewise attributed to these evangelical heretics of Cologne. The rapidity with which Waldensianism in its various forms spread, and the manifest growth of the party in evangelical spirit, can be most satisfactorily accounted for by supposing that they absorbed much of the evangelical life of the earlier time, and were in turn profoundly influenced by parties more pronounced in their anti-ecclesiasticism than Waldo himself.

CHAPTER IV.

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA, THE ARNOLDISTS, THE HUMILIATI, AND THE POOR MEN OF LOMBARDY.

The main facts of Arnold's remarkable career are well known but will bear repetition. He was of noble lineage, and was born and reared at Brescia. He studied under the famous teacher and freethinker, Peter Abelard. On his return to Italy, full of zeal for the reformation of Church and State, he was admitted into one of the lower grades of the clergy. But he saw in the secularization of the Church, and in the devotion of clergy, high and low, and of the monastic orders as well, to the accumulation of wealth as means of luxury and oppression, the root of the corruptions of the time, and he was able to give all the greater emphasis to his scathing denunciations of ecclesiastical corruption by reason of his own austerity and sanctity of life. He demanded the complete renunciation on the part of the Church as a whole and of individual clergy and monks, high and low, of all wealth, and a complete withdrawal from all secular affairs, insisting that to the civil rulers alone all property rightly belongs, to be administered for the well-being of the people, and that the clergy should be supported entirely by the freewill offerings of the people. Owing to a general recognition of the extreme corruptions of the time, his views met with general acceptance throughout Northern Italy, but having been accused of heresy by his bishop in a Lateran synod he was obliged to leave Italy in 1139. He returned to France, where he defended Abelard against Bernard and others, and soon had this fierce and unrelenting heresy-hunter on his track; and so he went to Switzerland, where he labored with acceptance and suc-

cess for a time under the protection of the liberally inclined bishop of Constance, until the zeal of Bernard, who warned the bishop not to harbor this "roaring lion," this "enemy of the Church," wrought his expulsion from Switzerland. He found protection with a papal legate who soon became Pope Cœlestin II., and in Rome during a decade (1145–1155) he was at the head of a popular movement that aimed at the restoration of the ancient form of government and that was able to expel the Pope and to establish and maintain for a while a new *régime*. In the treaty between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. he was, however, basely sacrificed by the former to the latter, and executed in pursuance of this arrangement. He was hanged, his dead body burned, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, lest his followers should gather his remains for relics. These are well established facts.

The questions about which there has been difference of opinion are the following: Was Arnold a religious schismatic as well as a social and political agitator? Did he attack the doctrinal system of the Church? Did he found a sect? We should attach very little importance to Bernard's railings, who stigmatizes him as a schismatic, if we had no better evidence to rely upon. Otto, of Freising, one of the best informed and most judicial of the contemporary authorities, remarks that "besides these things (that is, his demand for reform in the directions mentioned above) he is said to have been astray with reference to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants." The former part of this statement is confirmed by several writers; the second part has commonly been supposed to be unconfirmed and to rest upon a confounding of Arnold with Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne. It has recently been claimed by Breyer, to whom the writer is deeply indebted, that Durandus confirms Otto's report as to Arnold's unsatisfactory views on infant baptism,[1] and that this notice

[1] The passage cited by Breyer has reference not directly to Arnold, but rather to the Arnoldists. The use made of it by Breyer is justifiable only on the supposition that the Arnoldists derived their views from Arnold of Brescia. Durandus does not even say directly that the Arnoldists were astray as regards

of Otto's can no longer be looked upon as resting on a confounding of Arnold with the Petrobrusians. It is pretty certain, at all events, that Arnold was no mere churchly reformer, but that he held to views radically antagonistic to the current orthodoxy. It would be natural to suppose, in view of his long-continued activity and his strong influence over the masses, that he impressed his views regarding the sacraments as well as regarding political, social, and religious reform on large numbers of his contemporaries.

It is highly probable in itself that he founded a sect. The testimony of contemporaries changes the probability into a certainty. It is related by Johannes Saresberiensis in his *Historia Pontificalis*, that during his stay in Rome Arnold "founded a sect of men which is still (about 1164) called the heresy of the Lombards," and that its adherents on account of the uprightness, rigor, and piety of their lives had found the most enthusiastic support among the people and especially among pious women. Johannes was resident in Rome during Arnold's time, and must have known whereof he affirmed. Arnold was beyond doubt the founder of a sect.

The next question to be settled is, whether he was founder of the sect known during the succeeding century as the *Arnoldists*. The affirmative has been maintained by most writers, including Leger, Füesslin, Muratori, Dieckhoff, Tocco, and Keller; the negative by Gottfried Arnold, Guadagnini, and Giesebrecht. The latter view has rested, no doubt, on a failure to find convincing evidence that Arnold held to anti-Catholic views, or that he was the founder of any sect. Those who accept the evidence that Arnold founded a sect can hardly fail to regard it as highly probable that the Arnoldists of history derived their impulse

infant baptism; but their denial that the Holy Spirit is received in connection with the baptismal act is probably thought by Breyer to imply a radically anti-Romanist conception of the ordinance as such. The passage is as follows: "Arnoldistæ . . . asserunt, quod nunquam per baptismum aquæ homines Spiritum sanctum accipiunt, nec Samaritani baptizati illum receperunt, donec manus impositionem acceperunt."

as well as their name from Arnold of Brescia. The fact that the Arnoldists flourished in Lombardy, where Arnold's influence is known to have been greatest, is, moreover, strongly favorable to the identification of the Arnoldists with the followers of Arnold of Brescia.

What then were the views of the Arnoldists, and what do we know of their history? They agreed with Cathari, Petrobrusians, and other sects in their uncompromising hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, directed especially against the secularization and the corrupt lives of the clergy whose ministration of the sacraments they considered invalid. They denied the efficacy of water baptism to secure remission of sins, and laid considerable stress upon the imposition of hands as complementary to baptism. That, like the Cathari, they rejected water baptism and substituted therefor the Consolamentum, there is no credible evidence. Our information about the Arnoldists is extremely meagre; but they are mentioned with sufficient frequency in the Roman Catholic literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to prove that they persisted as a distinct party until long after the rise of the Waldenses. It is certain that, like Arnold and Peter de Bruys, they made the Apostolic Church their model, and aimed to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and simplicity. Tocco affirms "that the Poor Men of Lombardy descended in a direct line from the Arnoldists."

The next Italian religious party that here comes into consideration is that of the *Humiliati.* The origin of this party as regards circumstances and date is exceedingly obscure. It seems to have arisen some time between 1017 and 1184, probably during the reign of Frederick I. There is an old tradition, not improbable in itself, that it was organized by a party of Italian noblemen who were taken captive to Germany, and on their return resolved to abandon rank, to devote themselves to a semi-monastic communal life, and to support themselves with the labor of their hands. Their chief industry seems to have been wool-weaving, and they are said to have had almost a monopoly of this industry in

certain parts of Italy. Little is known of their views, except that they rejected oaths. The party seems at first to have been composed chiefly of laymen, and celibacy was not required. Before the close of the twelfth century there were two parties, one of which was in harmony with the Church, and the other classed by the Church among heretics. It is highly probable that the heretical Humiliati became so through Arnoldistic influence. In 1184, Pope Lucius III., in a bull against the heresies of the time in Lombardy, mentioned the Humiliati and the Poor Men of Lyons as if they were one and the same party *(qui se humiliatos vel pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur).* It is highly improbable that such a statement would have found place in an official document emanating from the Roman Curia with reference to Italian sects unless some sort of relationship had been established between the anti-churchly Humiliati and the followers of Peter Waldo. That the Poor Men of Lyons had by that time secured a foothold in Lombardy is certain; that they had already, in 1184, established a connection with the heretical Humiliati is highly probable.

We have proof of the most complete kind that the followers of Peter Waldo entered into relations of some kind with some evangelical party in Lombardy. According to the *Rescriptum Heresiarchum Lombardie ad Pauperes de Lugduno, qui sunt in Alamania*, written about 1230 or earlier, and first edited by Preger in 1875, a convention was held at Bergamo, Lombardy, in 1218, between representatives of the Poor Men of Lombardy and of the Poor Men of Lyons or followers of Peter Waldo, for the purpose of endeavoring to harmonize differences that had arisen between the two parties. From this document it is evident that the Waldenses had some time before formed a more or less closely cemented union with an evangelical party that they found already in Italy. The chief points of difference were as follows: The Italians, like Arnold and his followers, held fast to the Donatistic view in accordance with which the validity of the sacraments depends on the character of the person administering them; the Waldenses attributed the efficacy to

the words of Christ uttered in connection with the sacraments. The Italians insisted on the toleration of *congregationes laborantium* for such as preferred this mode of life; the Waldenses were strenuous in their demand for the abolition of such congregations. These congregations of laborers were no doubt heretical Humiliati.

These two points of difference—others will be discussed in the next section—furnish a highly probable ground for the conclusion reached by Preger (and in this conclusion Breyer and Karl Müller concur), that the party of Italians that entered into relationship with the followers of Waldo represents a blending of Arnoldist with Humiliatist elements. If this conclusion be accepted as valid, the thoroughgoing Protestantism of the Arnoldists, otherwise probable, is strongly confirmed. Since the publication of Döllinger's volume of documents, we are able to speak more positively than was possible before as to the early relations of the Poor Men of Lombardy and the Poor Men of Lyons. According to a writing called *Supra Stella*, of the year 1235, certain Italian brethren, under John Roncho, separated themselves from the Poor Men of Lyons. The mention of Roncho as the leader of the Lombardy party enables us to identify the Runcarians, mentioned by David of Augsburg as, along with the Poor Men of Lyons, the Ortidiebarians, the Arnoldists, and the Waldenses, having formerly constituted one sect with the Italian party of the *Rescriptum.*

CHAPTER V.

THE POOR MEN OF LYONS, THE POOR MEN OF LOMBARDY, THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER, AND TO THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN EVANGELICAL PARTIES.

The *Rescriptum* and the *Supra Stella*, mentioned in the preceding section, when taken in connection with statements of David of Augsburg and of an anonymous writer in *Martène* and *Durand* [Omnes Pauperes utriusque sectæ eundem modum consecrandi tenebant . . . *ante divisionem quæ fuit inter eos*], show that the followers of Peter Waldo had, soon after the beginning of his reformatory career, formed a union more or less complete with certain evangelical Christians in Lombardy; that the union was soon dissolved (1205) owing to serious differences of view; that representatives of the two parties met in convention at Bergamo in 1218 with a view to harmonizing the differences; that some time afterwards, when the *Rescriptum* was written, the breach is as far as ever from being healed; and that at the date of the writing of *Supra Stella* (1235) the two parties are still recognized as distinct.

In view of the widely divergent opinions of two of the best-informed students of mediæval sects on a number of important matters in relation to these parties, it seems advisable to state concisely the points of difference between the two parties as they appear in the *Rescriptum*, and to seek to determine which of the two modern writers referred to has the advantage in the argument.

The first point at issue was that of a general superintendency. The Italians had asked to be assured as to the position of the Ultramontanes. Waldo, they had been in-

formed, had strongly opposed the appointment during his life-time or after his death of a general superintendent (prepositus), and they had asked to be informed whether the Ultramontanes were resolved to adhere to this position. The Ultramontanes had expressed a willingness to meet with the Italians and in co-operation with them to elect superintendents for life or rectors for a time, as might be thought more useful to the community of believers or more in the interest of peace. The Italians, it would seem, had the former practice, the Ultramontanes the latter. The practice of the two parties in the matter of appointing and ordaining ministers was likewise at variance, the Italians appointing for life, the Ultramontanes for a limited time.

Another bone of contention was the "congregations of workmen." Waldo, the Italians had been informed, had expressed the most uncompromising hostility to this institution. They had asked to be informed whether the Ultramontanes are of the same mind. The latter had answered somewhat evasively, pointing out certain unwholesome tendencies in the congregations of workmen. The Italians express their desire for the thorough reformation of these congregations, but plead for toleration of this institution on the part of the Ultramontanes. The authors of the Rescript consider these three points virtually settled, if the Ultramontanes will carry out in practice what they have orally spoken. They "wish to do according to God and his law simply and without any veil, all altercation and disputing being cut off."

The next question regards baptism. To certain inquiries of the Ultramontanes the Italians had replied: "We say that no one rejecting baptism of material waters can be saved, least of all do we believe that children not truly baptized are saved, and this we beseech them (the Ultramontanes) to believe and acknowledge." The Ultramontanes had mildly assented to this position in the following words: "We believe that no one is saved unless he shall have been baptized materially in water." As regards the permanence of the married relation the Italians had ex-

pressed themselves thus: "We believe that no one ought to separate those lawfully married except for cause of fornication or by the consent of both parties." The Ultramontanes expressed a somewhat laxer view as follows: lawful wedlock "should not be dissolved except through the will of both parties, unless, in the opinion of the congregation of believers, just occasion should intervene." The Ultramontanes have complained of the conduct of two Italian brethren. The Italians agree that suitable amends should be made "according to God and his law."

On the foregoing points the two parties, though they were not entirely at one, were able to come to a good understanding. On two points they failed to reach a satisfactory basis of agreement. The Ultramontanes insisted that the Italians should acknowledge that Waldo and Vivetus (one of his chief co-laborers) "are in God's Paradise," and made such acknowledgment an indispensable condition of peace. The Italians would go no further than to say that "if before their death Waldo and Vivetus satisfied God for all their faults and offences, they could be saved." Six representatives of each party had held a prolonged conference over this question without reaching a more satisfactory result. The significance of this contention about Waldo and Vivetus has been pointed out in an instructive way by Müller. The probability is that Waldo had recently died and that his death was the occasion of the efforts to reunite the parties. The "faults and offences" referred to would doubtless denote the Italians' view of the proceedings of Waldo and others that led to the schism.

The other point of serious difference was with regard to the Eucharist. Both parties believed in the real presence, apparently in transubstantiation. The question at issue was, whether transubstantiation takes place through the simple utterance of the divine words, so that even a Jew, a heathen, or a harlot can work the change; or whether it takes place only in answer to the sincere prayer of a believer who has been set apart for the administration of the ordinances. The Ultramontanes held to the former view, the Italians to the latter.

The Ultramontanes based their contention on the theory that the administration of baptism and that of the Supper are to be placed on the same level. Both parties admitted that even a harlot could in an emergency validly baptize; if so, said the Ultramontanes, why could she not validly administer the Supper?

Such are the chief points of agreement and difference between the two parties, according to this interesting and important document. It must be confessed that neither party is as evangelical, according to this document, as we would fain regard them. Of the two parties the Italian is clearly the more anti-Catholic. Both alike hold to infant baptism; both alike insist on the necessity of water baptism to salvation—the Italians more emphatically than the Ultramontanes; both hold to transubstantiation, or something bordering on it, the Ultramontanes placing the transubstantiating efficacy in the words of celebration, the Italians in the personal character of the ministrant.

The materials being now before us, we may proceed to consider the points at issue between Preger and Müller. Müller came to the study of Waldensian history, fresh from profound researches on matters pertaining to the rise of the Franciscan order. It was in accord with his love of uniformity to search for points of resemblance between the Franciscans and the Waldenses. Certain points of resemblance lie upon the surface: the stress laid by both on the imitation of Christ, the doctrine and practice of evangelical poverty, the itinerating methods of work, etc. To prove that the Waldenses were essentially a monastic party, with its tertiaries, or uninitiated supporters, would be an achievement worthy of his steel. The churchly elements of the early Waldenses, as seen in the Rescript, especially in the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and the real presence in the Supper, confirmed him in the suspicion that the Waldenses were essentially a Catholic rather than an evangelical party. This view he has sought to establish by a thorough investigation of the sources. Preger, who first brought the Rescript to light, felt himself by no means constrained by

the less evangelical elements of the Rescript to abandon his view that was highly favorable to the evangelical character of the Waldenses and related parties. Preger finds evidence in the document itself that the extreme sacramental views of both parties of the Rescript did not express the unanimous views of the parties represented, and he points to the writings of David of Augsburg, the Passau Anonymous, etc., as evidence that forty years later both parties were most pronounced in their anti-Catholicism and their anti-sacramentalism.

To go into the details of this somewhat protracted controversy would be impracticable on the present occasion. The dates of the Rescript, the Passau Anonymous, etc., first fixed by Preger, have been contested by Müller; the interpretation of words and phrases by Preger has been attacked by Müller, and *vice versa*. The dates of the documents in question Preger has triumphantly vindicated against Müller's attacks. In his exegesis of words and phrases, Preger seems to me to employ a sounder and more unbiased criticism. In his general view of the matters involved he seems to have the great advantage of being able to sympathize more deeply with mediæval life and thought. Müller betrays little sympathy with religious life of any kind. He makes upon one the impression that he is far more anxious to secure an argumentative triumph, or to establish a theory at variance with the views of others, than he is to arrive at the truth, or to do justice to the parties whose history he investigates.

We must confine our attention to the one central feature of Müller's theory and of Preger's counter-theory. Müller asserts that a distinction between the fully initiated brethren and the uninitiated adherents, corresponding to the distinction between Manichæan *Perfecti* or *Electi* and *Credentes* or *Auditores*, is fully established by the Rescript and by other documents. To quote his own language: "From the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century, and to some extent later still, all extra-German sources that betray an accurate knowledge, understand by Waldenses, Poor Men, etc., not

any sort of communities (Gemeinden) or their members, but the apostolic itinerant preachers, those denominated by the heresiologists and inquisitors *perfecti.* On the other hand, in Germany, as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, a different linguistic usage begins to appear." He quotes from Bernard of Fontcaude, Alanus ab Insulis, Eberhard of Bethune, and Peter de Vaux-Cernay, to prove that the itinerant preachers, male and female, and these alone, are meant whenever Waldenses, etc., are spoken of. Bernard Gui speaks of the peculiarities in dress that distinguished the Insabbati, or sandalled evangelists, from their accomplices and believers *(complicibus et credentibus).* Much other evidence of like import he adduces in support of his theory.

He admits that a different representation prevailed in Germany. In the writing of David of Augsburg, and that of the so-called Passau Anonymous, while the two classes corresponding to the *perfecti* and the *credentes* are recognized, yet both are regarded as belonging to the sect,—as forming integral parts of the organism. The same he admits to be true of all later German representations. In Germany, therefore, according to Müller's view, the Waldensian parties actually attained to the position of thoroughgoing separatism, and of antagonism not merely to the crying corruptions of the papal Church, but to the papal Church as such. On the other hand, Waldo and his immediate followers, the French Waldenses, for centuries declined to assume the position of separatists. They continued to conform outwardly to the papal Church, partaking of the Eucharist from time to time, having their infants baptized by the priests, etc.; but secretly they maintained a thorough organization of apostolic preachers, male and female, had their work for the year mapped out at the annual meeting of the preachers, had their regular stations where the preachers were entertained, and where their adherents could be brought together on short notice for religious services, and where the people brought together their gifts for the support of the evangelical work of the party, etc. In the

Rescript itself he finds confirmation for this view, and takes issue with Preger on the explanation of a number of the features of this representation of early Waldensian polity.

Preger and Müller are at one in recognizing the distinction made in the Rescript and in nearly all other documents between those who practised evangelical poverty and gave themselves wholly to religious work (the *perfecti*), and those who followed the ordinary avocations of life, attended upon the ministrations of the *perfecti*, and supported them by their gifts (*credentes* or *auditores*). This distinction is so well attested that it were idle to call it in question. The interpretation of the expression *congregatio baptizatorum* is one of the points on which the two writers in question diverge. Does the expression denote the entire body of believers, or only the close body of apostolic preachers? Preger maintains the former view, Müller the latter.

In view of all the available literature, including what Müller himself has adduced in support of his position, Preger persists in maintaining that the Waldenses, from the earliest times throughout their history, held fast to the universal priesthood of believers, and that with them the Scriptures were the only rule and standard of faith and life. While he admits that in many particulars they closely resembled Catholic orders and parties, they were by reason of these peculiarities radically opposed to the Romish Church.

It should be said that Keller has adopted in its essential features, and in some respects carried further than the facts seem to warrant, the view of Preger; Haupt, on the other hand, supports in a modified form the view of Müller. It is possible to accept all the facts that Müller and Haupt adduce in support of their theory and still to agree substantially with Preger and Keller in the interpretation and the application of these facts. The difference, in general, between Preger and Müller is this: Preger has studied profoundly the evangelical mysticism of the middle ages, and has learned to sympathize with evangelical mysticism. He

recognizes wherever he finds it true evangelical piety, and discriminates readily between the genuine and the spurious. He sees a wide difference between Francis and Dominic and Peter Waldo. They may and do agree in many particulars, but the difference in point of view is radical. Müller, as already suggested, seems incapable of appreciating the evangelical elements that differentiated the Waldenses from the monastic orders. Hence his disposition to disparage the old-evangelical party. When we reflect on the heroic history of this people, their survival of the terrible ordeal of the mediæval Inquisition, their persistent refusal to be absorbed by any other movement, such as Hussitism and Protestantism, the powerful influence they have exerted on all later evangelical movements, including the Wiclifite, Hussite, evangelico-mystical, Protestant, Baptist, Moravian, Methodist, etc., we cannot persuade ourselves that we have to do with a party characterized by monkish asceticism and devoid of evangelical spirit. Those who deny that the Waldenses and related parties were evangelical probably limit the term "evangelical" to the peculiar set of doctrines that Luther emphasized. Those, on the other hand, who understand by evangelical doctrine and life the doctrine and life of Christ and his apostles, can hardly fail to recognize in the Waldenses many of the traits of primitive Christianity. It was no monkish asceticism that, in the face of the fully developed and remorselessly carried out Inquisition, extended its influence into every country of Europe, and with its translations and earnest study of the Scriptures during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries leavened Europe with evangelical principles and prepared the way for all that is good in the Protestantism of the sixteenth century.

In his review of Keller's "J. von Staupitz" (see *Literature*), Lemme has discussed in a judicial way the question as to the evangelical character of the Waldenses, etc. A quotation from this excellent article may fittingly close this section :

"In calling the pre-reformatory Waldensian churches evangelical Keller necessarily raises the question as to their evangelical standpoint; because in recent times it has been maintained that the Waldenses were essentially mediæval-monkish."

After quoting Keller to the effect that whoever maintains that the life-ideal of the Waldenses was fundamentally monkish proves that he knows nothing of their history, Lemme proceeds:

"The Waldenses show, to be sure, a certain relationship with the strivings of St. Francis in the legalistic conception of Scripture and in the legalistic carrying out of the precepts of Christ. But yet it is an exceedingly perilous confusion of thought to declare, because St. Francis sought to carry out his reformatory strivings in the form of monasticism, all such reformatory strivings monkish; and it is a still more perilous confusion of thought to declare all translation into reality of the precepts of Christ on the abandonment of earthly things, flight from the world. The classing of the apostolic life as the Waldenses cherished it with the monkish life-ideal is, as a matter of fact, not a result of scientific investigation, but is dogmatic prepossession. But has one a right to call the Waldensian churches old-evangelical, as Keller does? They are evangelical with respect to the source of knowledge of the Christian faith, in making the Scriptures the sole authority, and with respect to the conception of the Church, in the rejection of ecclesiastical authority, and the vindication of the universal priesthood. They are Catholic in the estimate of Christ as a law-giver, in the conception of his revelation as the law, and in the distinguishing of a higher grade of perfection, whose features, to be sure, show a certain relationship with monasticism, from the rank and file of the membership. But the standpoint of the sect consists in the endeavor to set up a church of the saints through the association of individuals, to carry out Christianity in the rigorous following of the example of Christ, and to this end to attach to individual precepts of Christ a value that is incompatible with social life. If we look away from the great manifoldness of directions and churches there yet appears as a certain fundamental feature of these pre-reformatory churches the tendency, over against ecclesiasticism, to realize practically a rigorous carrying out in life of Christianity. This impulse to set up externally churches

of the saints could not feel content with Luther's reformation, and turned aside into Anabaptism."

It goes without saying that the writer of this paper would agree with Keller in thinking the features of the Waldenses which Lemme considers less evangelical (such as the endeavor to realize in their lives the life of Christ, to rigorously carry into practice the precepts of Christ, and to set up churches of the regenerate) old-evangelical—that is, apostolic. Their failure more fully to realize apostolical Christianity was no doubt due to lack of sound exegetical methods. So far as they were legalistic and narrow, it was due to their failure to apprehend what Christ wished to teach, not to a lack of disposition to be faithful to him in all things.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELATION OF THE TABORITES TO THE WALDENSES.

On the relation of the Taborites to the Waldenses opinion has been, and is, much divided. Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who in the sixteenth century surpassed all his contemporaries in scientific historical investigation and who studied mediæval sects to more purpose than any of his successors until the present century, on the basis of manuscript sources some of which are lost and some of which are still available, reached the conclusion, that the entire evangelical movement in Bohemia, including the work of the well known precursors of Hus (such as Conrad of Waldhausen, Militz of Kremsier, Matthias of Janow, etc.), the Hussite movement, the Taborite movement, the Unitas Fratrum, etc., was deeply indebted to the earlier Waldensian movement. In the extant part of the MS. used by Flacius and recently brought to light in mutilated form by Wattenbach (see *Literature*), giving an account of an inquisition of heresy in Pomerania and the Margravate of Brandenburg (1393–1394), no mention is made of the visits of Bohemian teachers to these regions. Wattenbach is of opinion that Flacius confounded the mention of such visits in another MS. account of a later inquisition (1458) with the account of the inquisition of 1393–1394. Preger gives reasons of considerable weight for rejecting this theory of a confusion of MSS. and dates on the part of Flacius, and supposes that the mention of visits of Bohemian teachers to the regions referred to was found by Flacius either in the lost parts of the newly recovered MS. or in other MSS. used and mentioned by Flacius but now unhappily lost.

Most later writers have acquiesced in the view of Flacius as to the dependence of Taborites, Hussites, etc., on the Waldenses. Latterly, however, it has been called in question by Palacky, Gindely, Loserth, Müller,[1] *et al.*, chiefly on the ground of newly discovered evidences of the profound influence of the English Wiclifite movement on the evangelical movement in Bohemia. Of the great indebtedness of Hus and Jerome of Prague to Wiclif there can be no reasonable doubt. It has been demonstrated by Loserth, *e. g.*, that the theological treatises of Hus are copied almost bodily from the pages of Wiclif. That the writings of Wiclif were highly prized by the Masters of Prague has long been recognized. But admitting all that is claimed by Loserth *et al.*, with reference to the influence of Wiclif's writings on the Masters of Prague (Hus *et al.*), we are still far from being in a position to account for the vast popular evangelical movement throughout Bohemia.

The history of old-evangelical life in Britain has not yet been adequately investigated, and it is possible that materials are not extant for the thorough illumination of this department of British history; but no one supposes that Wiclif was without his evangelical precursors. It is highly probable that the old-evangelical Christianity of Patrick, Columba and Columban persisted with considerable vigor till the time of Wiclif, and that in Wiclif's time there was a vast amount of more or less latent evangelical life which was ready to respond right heartily to the call of so well equipped a leader as Wiclif. The efforts put forth by Wiclif personally and through his "Poor Priests" and popular literature are inadequate to account for the vast Lollard movement which in Wiclif's own life-time went far beyond him in evangelical spirit and doctrine.

So in Bohemia, it would probably be far more correct to say that the popularity of Wiclif's writings was due to the fact that through years of widespread evangelical work the people had become prepared to appreciate the evangelical

[1] Loserth and Müller have felt constrained by Preger's argumentation to admit the possibility of a slight Waldensian influence in Taboritism.

features of Wiclif's writings and those of his copyists, than to say that Wiclif's teachings studied and disseminated by the Masters of Prague were the chief cause of the great religious ferment of the early years of the fifteenth century.

But we are dependent for this view neither on the authority of Flacius nor on the inherent probability of the case. On the contrary, we have evidence of the great influence and the aggressiveness of Waldenses of the most pronounced or anti-Romanist type in Bohemia throughout the entire fourteenth century. Flacius had an account of an inquisition of Waldensian heresy in Bohemia which he attributed to the year 1330, but which Preger thinks must be the same as that otherwise known to have occurred in 1318. Preger bases his conclusion on the fact that Flacius agrees with the papal letter in which it is mentioned in making the inquisition to have included Bohemia and Poland, whereas Bohemia and Moravia are mentioned in the account of the inquisition of 1335 under King John. According to Flacius, these Bohemian Waldenses were accustomed to send their collections to brethren and teachers in Lombardy, and to send their future teachers to Lombardy to be trained for their work.

The inquisition of 1318 was ineffective, and Waldenses steadily and rapidly increased. In 1335 Benedict XII. sent the Dominican Gallus de Novo Castro as inquisitor to Bohemia and the Franciscan Peter of Naczeraz as inquisitor to Moravia. The estates of Ulrich von Neuhaus in Southern Bohemia were a stronghold of heresy. Gallus labored for more than ten years, with some interruptions, in these regions and succeeded in bringing many heretics into the Church; but no sooner had he withdrawn from a given region than the converts relapsed in large numbers. In 1340 the Pope wrote to the Baron of Neuhaus complaining that there were numberless heretics in the dioceses of Prague and Olmütz, and especially in the possessions of Neuhaus, and promising the Baron the forgiveness of all his sins if he would extirpate heresy from his territory. The Pope states that during the absence of the inquisitor at Avignon these

relapsed heretics have had meetings with their masters, whom they call "Apostles," and that they have threatened the Catholic subjects of the Baron with pillage, murder, and incendiarism, and are so numerically strong that they have dared to declare war against Neuhaus and its dependencies. While no party name is here given to these aggressive heretics, it is almost certain that they were Waldenses and that they were of the Italian type.

The designation of their teachers as "Apostles," Preger has shown by reference to many mediæval documents to be quite in accord with Waldensian usage and not so much in accord with the usage of Cathari and other sects. The synodal decrees of Prague, going back to 1353 make frequent reference to the Waldenses, but scarcely mention any other sect. The same is said to be true of all other Bohemian sources of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the Waldenses are known to have been numerous at this time in the contiguous parts of Germany. As already remarked, Flacius claimed to be in possession of documents from this time showing that Brandenburg and Pomerania were visited from time to time by teachers from Bohemia.

This papal notice of what we will henceforth assume to have been a widespread and vigorous body of old-evangelical Christians in Bohemia is highly important on several accounts.

1. It has been proved by Preger that the Austrian Waldenses, including those described by the Passau Anonymous as existing in large numbers in the diocese of Passau about 1260, those who were the victims of the Inquisition in Pomerania and the Margravate of Brandenburg in 1393–1394 and in 1458, and the party now under consideration, belonged to the Poor Men of Lombardy and not to the Poor Men of Lyons, or the more immediate followers of Peter Waldo. We have already seen that the Italian party was from the first by far the more pronounced in its evangelical spirit and in its hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. We have already seen, moreover, that a strong Arnoldistic

element entered into the life and teachings of the Poor Men of Lombardy.

2. This Bohemian Waldensian party of the fourteenth century differed from many, if not most, of the old-evangelical communities in the maintenance and practice of the right of self-defence. This may have been due in part to the pugnacious spirit of the Bohemian people and in part to the fact that they were conscious of their ability successfully to resist oppression; but is it not possible that we see in their willingness to take up arms in defence of their religious liberty a survival of the influence of Arnold of Brescia, who did not hesitate to employ force in carrying out his social and religious reforms?

3. The territory occupied by these high-spirited members of the old-evangelical party was the very territory occupied by the Taborites early in the fifteenth century. It would certainly be most unreasonable, in view of this fact and of other confirmatory facts which need not now be mentioned, to deny that the Taborites, or the radical party in the Hussite movement, were in any way indebted to the pre-Hussite Bohemian Waldenses.

The antecedent probability, that any radical evangelical movement springing up on the ground occupied just previously by the party we have been considering would be greatly influenced by the earlier movement, is heightened by a comparison of the views of the Taborites with those of the old-evangelical party, especially of the Italian branch of the party.

1. Both the Waldensian parties of the *Rescriptum* (1218), claimed to make the Scriptures their rule of faith and practice. The Italian party seem to have suspected that their Ultramontane brethren held to this doctrine in a less complete way than themselves, which was probably the fact. But when Peter Waldo claimed for himself and his followers the right to preach the gospel, and when he refused to be silenced by his bishop on the ground that obedience is due to God rather than men, he was practically asserting the doctrine of Scriptural authority over against ecclesiastical authority.

Later accounts of the French Waldenses show that the principle of Scripture authority came to be more and more fully apprehended and more and more clearly asserted. That the Italian party and its derivatives were still more thoroughly committed to the Scripture principle is acknowledged even by Karl Müller, and does not require proof.

The Taborites were just as decided as the Italian Waldenses in their rejection of Apocryphal Scriptures, of tradition, and of ecclesiastical authority, and in their assertion of the sole and absolute authority of the Canonical Scriptures in matters of faith and practice. In their confession of faith of 1420 it is asserted, "That no written or spoken statements of any doctors whatsoever are to be held or universally (catholice) believed, except what are explicitly contained in the canon of the Bible," and that "no decrees of the holy fathers or institutions of the elders, no rites of any sort or tradition humanly invented, are to be held; but all such things are to be abolished and destroyed as traditions of antichrist." The Masters of Prague, or the Hussites proper, were just as explicit in their denial of this principle. "Let no one dare to say that only those things are to be believed for faith or otherwise held that are expressed and explicitly posited in Sacred Scripture," etc.

2. The Waldenses of all parties in the later time, and those of the Lombardy party from the beginning, believed their own sect to constitute the true Church of Christ, in which alone salvation was to be found, and regarded the Roman Catholic Church as "the church of the malignant and of the beast and of the harlot," as "the house of lies," and maintained that "all Catholics, little children alone excepted, are worthy of damnation," etc. All admit that the Italian party was from the beginning most pronounced in its hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. Equally so were the Taborites. Their aim being to restore Christianity to its original purity and simplicity, they rejected, in a word, all doctrines and practices that did not seem to them in accord with New Testament teaching, and denied to the Romish hierarchy any right to be called the Church of Christ.

3. As regards the ordinances, the Taborites took a position, in most respects, alongside of the more advanced of the Waldenses. They maintained that "no chrism, or sacred oil, or baptismal water ought to be consecrated or sanctified." They rejected the use of exorcism, and maintained the sufficiency of any fresh water, anywhere, for baptismal purposes. In one respect alone they seem to have been less radical than the most radical of the Waldenses, namely, in the retention of infant baptism. Their theory and practice in reference to the Supper were equally at variance with Roman Catholic and Hussite, and equally accordant with the most advanced Waldensian theory and practice. They rejected the whole body of ceremonies that had grown up in connection with the mass, insisting on the use of an ordinary unconsecrated cup and simple bread, and making the validity of the ordinance, thus simply administered, independent of consecrated places. They seem to have rejected transubstantiation and consubstantiation alike, and to have held to a view something like that of Calvin.

4. Like the Petrobrusians and the Waldenses, especially the Italian party, they rejected with the utmost decision all ecclesiastical fasts and festivals, except such as have apostolic sanction; rejected ecclesiastical chanting and all liturgical devices; and repudiated the doctrines of purgatory, prayers for the dead, intercession of saints, the veneration of relics, shrines, images, etc. They agreed with the Waldenses and earlier evangelical parties in condemning all forms of luxury and frivolity in food, drink, dress, social intercourse, etc., insisting on the greatest simplicity and purity of life. Like the Waldenses of all parties they rejected oaths.

It is not needful here to dwell upon the one element in which the Taborites differed from the Waldenses and that sadly marred their otherwise thoroughly evangelical character. Partly, it may be, through the influence of earlier chiliastic teachers, such as Militz of Kremsier and Matthias of Janow, but chiefly, no doubt, from the excessive religious excitement superinduced by the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, a large proportion of the Taborites

were plunged into the wild vagaries and the fanatical zeal of chiliasm. Like circumstances have again and again produced like results, witness, the Münster Kingdom of the sixteenth century and the Fifth Monarchy Men of the seventeenth.

Enough has been advanced, it would seem, to show that the Taborite movement was probably due to some extent at least to the earlier Waldensian movement in Bohemia. But how are we to account for the vast development of this type of evangelical life in this particular region about 1415 onwards? To answer this question fully would be to traverse familiar ground. The politico-social conditions of Bohemia that combined with the religious to bring men like Hus and Jerome of Prague to the front, the struggle in the University of Prague between the German Nominalists and the Bohemian Realists, fortified by the writings of Wiclif, the condemnation and burning of Hus and Jerome after they had awakened the Bohemian people to the necessity of reform—these, along with other well-known evangelizing agencies that had been at work during the preceding half century, had brought about a tense state of religious feeling. Christians of the old-evangelical type, who had been content to labor somewhat quietly heretofore, found themselves powerfully reinforced by the evangelical teachings of Hus and his followers. The martyrdom of Hus, a Bohemian patriot and staunch reformer, was a firebrand thrown into the combustible mass. It was enough to arouse even those who had hitherto preached and practised non-resistance to take up arms in defence of civil and religious liberty. Once the idea of taking up the sword in defence of civil and religious liberty had taken possession of the Bohemians, those who were most radical in their antagonism to Roman Catholicism would naturally enter upon the work of self-defence with the greatest enthusiasm and would be most likely, as above suggested, to be hurled into the abysms of fanaticism.

What then is our conclusion? How do we answer the question, whether the Taborites arose from Waldensian or

from Wiclifite influence? From the foregoing discussion the answer must be, that fundamentally the movement was a development of Waldensian principles and life; but that the influence of Wiclif, through Hus and his co-laborers, had the effect of greatly encouraging the old-evangelical life, while the national and religious feelings aroused by the martyrdom of Hus and Jerome kindled the smouldering embers into a flame that soon reached the proportions of a conflagration.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CODEX TEPLENSIS.

The so-called *Codex Teplensis* is a mediæval MS. of a German version of the New Testament, discovered a few years ago in the monastery of Tepl, in Bohemia, and edited by Klimesch, a Roman Catholic scholar, in 1881–1884. Besides the New Testament and the Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans[1] the MS. contains a German translation of a passage from the writing of Hugo of St. Victor on the seven sacraments, a German pericope-table for the entire year (including Sundays, the usual festivals connected with the life of Christ, and twenty-eight saints' days), citations from a Latin version of Chrysostom and from Augustin "on the utility for laymen of the reading of the Scriptures," and finally a German confession of faith embracing the seven chief articles of the Christian faith and the seven sacraments.

It is agreed on all hands that the MS. belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century and is thus pre-Hussite; that it was prepared in the region where it was discovered among the German-speaking inhabitants of Bohemia; that it represents the same text as that used in the first printed German Bible; that in later editions of the German Bible this version was modified little by little with a view to bringing it into harmony with the Latin Vulgate and with Roman Catholic dogma; that Luther himself was indebted largely to the old German Bibles based upon this version.

[1] This document is found in some mediæval MSS. of the Latin Vulgate and in a Catharistic Romance version, but not in the Waldensian Romance versions, so far as is known.

It has also been pointed out by Keller and Haupt, that it agrees strikingly with the Romance Waldensian version in the points in which it deviates from the Latin Vulgate and in which subsequent editions of the German Bible based upon this version were made to differ from the MS. and from the first edition.

To Ludwig Keller belongs the credit of having first pointed out, in his work on "The Reformation and the Older Reforming Parties," published in 1885, that not only was the version of the New Testament contained in the *Codex Teplensis* a distinctively Waldensian version, but that the accompanying documents are also Waldensian as regards their sentiments and as regards their origin. Keller did little more at the time than to express clearly his convictions as to the Waldensian character of the *Codex*. Herman Haupt at once took the matter up and, with adequate special knowledge of this department of research and unsurpassed facilities for critically testing Keller's conclusions, was able to give to the world a few months later an elaborate discussion of the entire question (see *Literature*). His conclusions were identical with those of Keller. He showed that it was quite in accord with Waldensian practice from Peter Waldo onwards to make selections favorable to their own position from the early Fathers and from later ecclesiastical writers; that there is nothing in the use of the pericope-tables with festivals and saints' days that contradicts Waldensian practice in the fourteenth century; and, as Keller had already pointed out, that the confession of faith is almost identical with a well-known Romance Waldensian confession.

A Roman Catholic scholar, F. Jostes, was promptly in the field to maintain against Keller and Haupt the Roman Catholic origin of the *Codex Teplensis*. His chief reliance, was, naturally, on the accompanying extra-Biblical documents. His contention was that heretics were not likely to have made such a use of Augustin, Chrysostom, and Hugo of St. Victor as would be involved in attaching these documents to their version of the New Testament, and he attempted to show that there is nothing in the Scripture

version or the other documents that cannot be paralleled in mediæval Roman Catholic literature. It may be remarked that even if all that Jostes contends for were admitted in detail, the *Codex Teplensis* as a whole would not be thus accounted for.

Shortly after the appearing of Jostes' first brochure Karl Müller reviewed the writings of Keller, Haupt, and Jostes (see *Literature*), expressing himself somewhat hesitatingly as to the origin of the version of the New Testament and of the accompanying documents of the *Codex Teplensis*, but giving a qualified support to Haupt's view. Haupt and Keller both published elaborate replies to their critics, and Jostes, after more thorough preparation for the conflict, entered the arena anew and was able partially to convince Müller that Keller and Haupt had failed fully to substantiate their position.

The results of the discussions may be summarized as follows:

1. The Waldenses are known to have had vernacular versions of the Scriptures from the time of Waldo, and it is highly probable that earlier representatives of the old-evangelical party, who certainly laid equal or greater stress upon the authority and the popular study of the Scriptures, had versions of their own. A number of MSS. of Romance versions have been preserved and have been long known to scholars; but up to the time of the discovery of the *Codex Teplensis* no German Waldensian version was known to have been preserved, although it was known that vernacular versions had existed and been in common use during the Middle Ages. A detailed comparison of the *Codex Teplensis* with the Romance version would seem to leave no doubt as to the close relationship of the two. Haupt has given a number of specimens of the two versions and of the Latin Vulgate in parallel columns. The instances in which the two mediæval versions agree against the Vulgate are too numerous to be accidental. There may be something in Müller's contention that the text of the Vulgate itself was by no means uniform in its multitudi-

nous copies, and that a study of the mediæval MSS. of the Vulgate is a pre-requisite to the reaching of any certainty in the matter before us; but it is by no means likely that the various readings of the copies of the Vulgate would materially affect Keller's and Haupt's conclusions.

2. It is an incontrovertible fact, that the use of vernacular versions had been from the time of Hildebrand onwards (1080) absolutely prohibited. Innocent III., in his writing on the Waldenses at Metz (1199), gave authoritative expression to what had long been the opinion of the hierarchy on this matter. The Synods of Toulouse (1229), Tarragona (1233), Beziers (1246), and Oxford (1408), prohibited the translating of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages and the reading of the Scriptures by the laity. The Synods of Tarragona and Beziers emphatically prohibited the use and possession of such versions even by the clergy. It is scarcely to be supposed that in face of these authoritative utterances Catholics in good standing would have made and circulated such a version as that of the *Codex Teplensis*, or that they would have appended to it quotations from Chrysostom in favor of popular Bible-reading. If the version could be proved to have been made and used by nominal Catholics, the only legitimate conclusion would be that the same evangelical spirit that manifested itself in the Waldenses and related parties manifested itself also to a greater or less extent in certain circles within the dominant Church. It is probably safe to affirm that the *Codex Teplensis* is a distinctively Waldensian document; that is to say, that it was prepared by the Waldenses for use within their own communion; it is certainly safe to affirm that is to be attributed to the old-evangelical party. Even if the Christians among whom it originated were known to have been nominally connected at the time with the dominant Church and tolerated by it, we should still feel obliged to say that, though in the Church, they were not of it.

3. Assuming the Waldensian, or to say the least the old-evangelical, character of the *Codex Teplensis*, the recognition

of the seven sacraments in the *Codex* may be to some a source of difficulty. But it by no means follows that because the Waldenses, to whom in common with the most pious Roman Catholics of the Middle Ages seven was a sacred number, accepted seven sacraments, they were at one with the Roman Catholic Church in their teaching with reference to these sacraments. The fact is, that while many of the Waldenses, especially in the earlier time, held fast to the doctrine of transubstantiation, or something scarcely distinguishable therefrom, and to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, they are almost uniformly charged by their enemies from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards with rejecting the Roman Catholic view of these ordinances and some of them with holding to what might be called an ultra-Protestant view. So also in their enumeration of the sacraments nothing unevangelical is involved. This will be evident to all from the words in which the enumeration is couched: (1) "baptism for the remission of sins"; (2) "repentance for the remission of sins"; (3) "breaking and joint-partaking of bread"; (4) "marriage"; (5) "anointing with oil"; (6) "the laying on of hands"; (7) "ordination to the presbyteral and diaconal offices." This order of the sacraments, by the way, corresponds precisely with that preserved in the Romance Waldensian literature, but differs greatly from that of the Roman Catholic Church current at the time. Now most evangelical Christians, while they distinguish between baptism and the Lord's Supper as ordinances proper and the remaining five items, recognize the fact that repentance, marriage, the imposition of hands, and the ordination of pastors, presbyters, and deacons, have an important place in the Christian economy, and that the anointing of the sick with oil has seemingly at least a strong Scriptural warrant. Again it is a well known fact that the old-evangelical party objected strongly to saint-worship and often refused to participate even outwardly in the idolatrous ceremonies of the Roman Catholics on the festivals of the saints. But it is a matter of

Roman Catholic testimony, that to avoid detection they often participated in these festivals. That they should have been willing to retain in their calendar the leading saints' days as days of special religious services is not to be wondered at. As already remarked, the Waldenses had from the first great respect for the evangelical teachings of the early Fathers, and did not hesitate to quote even from mediæval theologians and from popes passages favorable to their own views. The quotations from Augustin, Chrysostom, and Hugo, in the *Codex Teplensis*, are of this character.

4. The fact that the text represented by the *Codex Teplensis* was that used in the first printed German Bible, and that this version had an important influence on Luther's version, and a still more marked influence on the versions that were long used by the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, has given zest to the controversy. Roman Catholics are unwilling to admit that the first printed German Bible was a Waldensian Bible, and ultra-Lutherans are reluctant to admit that the old-evangelical party had accomplished so much towards the evangelization of Europe before the outbreak of the Protestant Revolution, as the facts of history seem to indicate. But it is interesting to know, that the old-evangelical party, represented by the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren, were not only the first to prepare a good German version of the Scriptures, but that they were, after the invention of printing, among the first to utilize this art in the dissemination of evangelical views through versions of the Scriptures and through religious works of their own composing. That there was during the fifteenth century much of evangelical life within the Roman Catholic Church can no longer be doubted; but even this was due no doubt in large measure to the great all-pervasive evangelical movement which, though relentlessly persecuted by the dominant Church, powerfully influenced the religious thought and life of Europe and made possible the politico-ecclesiastical revolts against papal absolutism

and corruption in England during the fourteenth century, in Bohemia during the fifteenth century, and in Germany during the sixteenth century; and which in turn was persecuted and almost exterminated by the combined forces of Romanism and politico-ecclesiastical Protestantism.

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